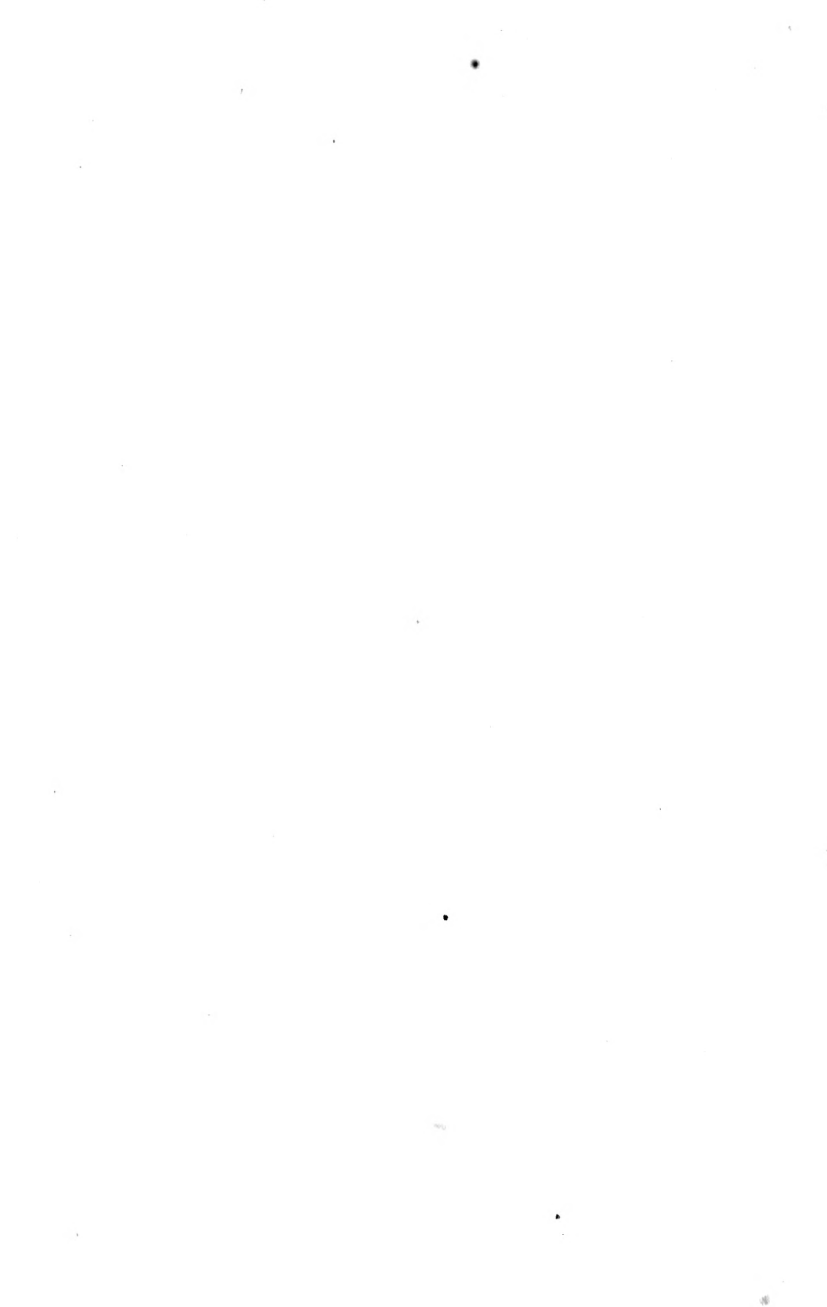


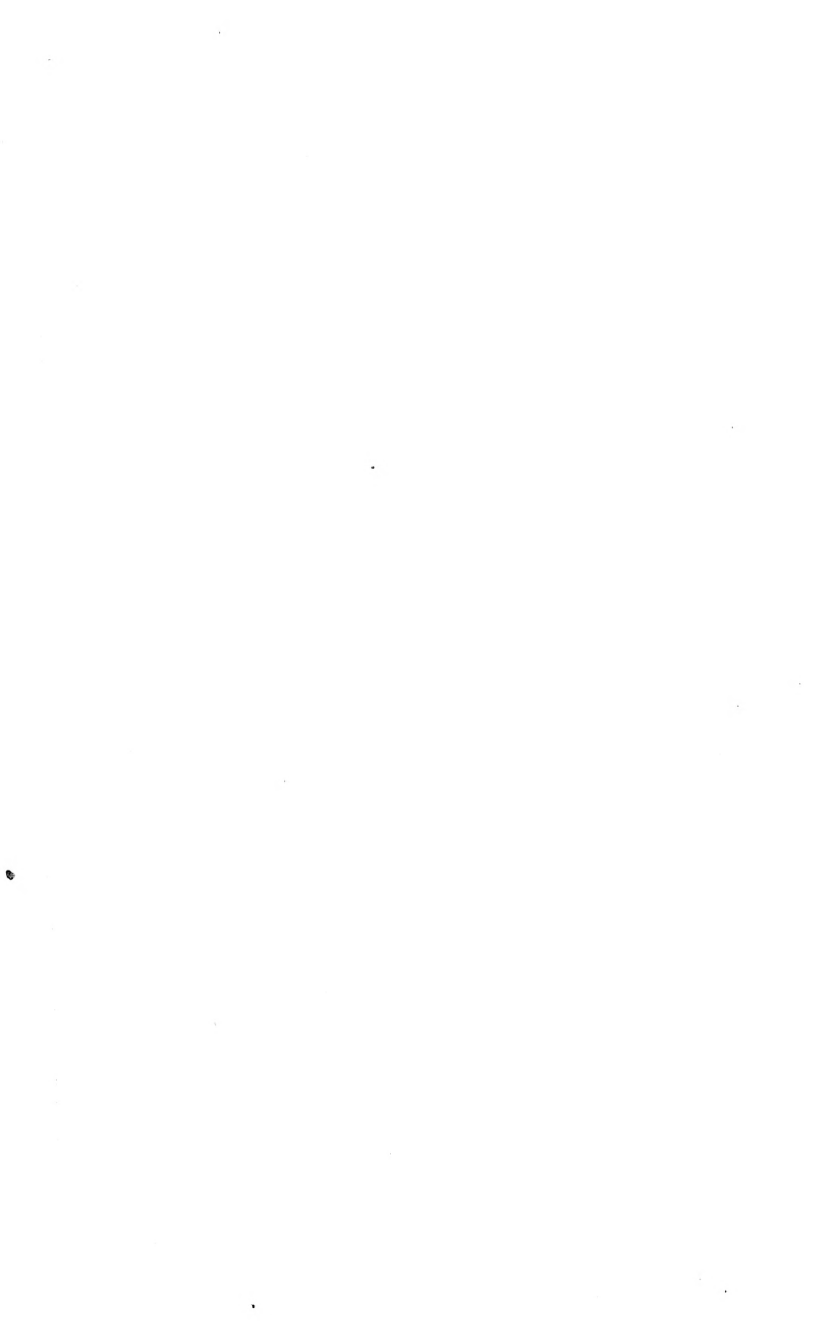
A NEW HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

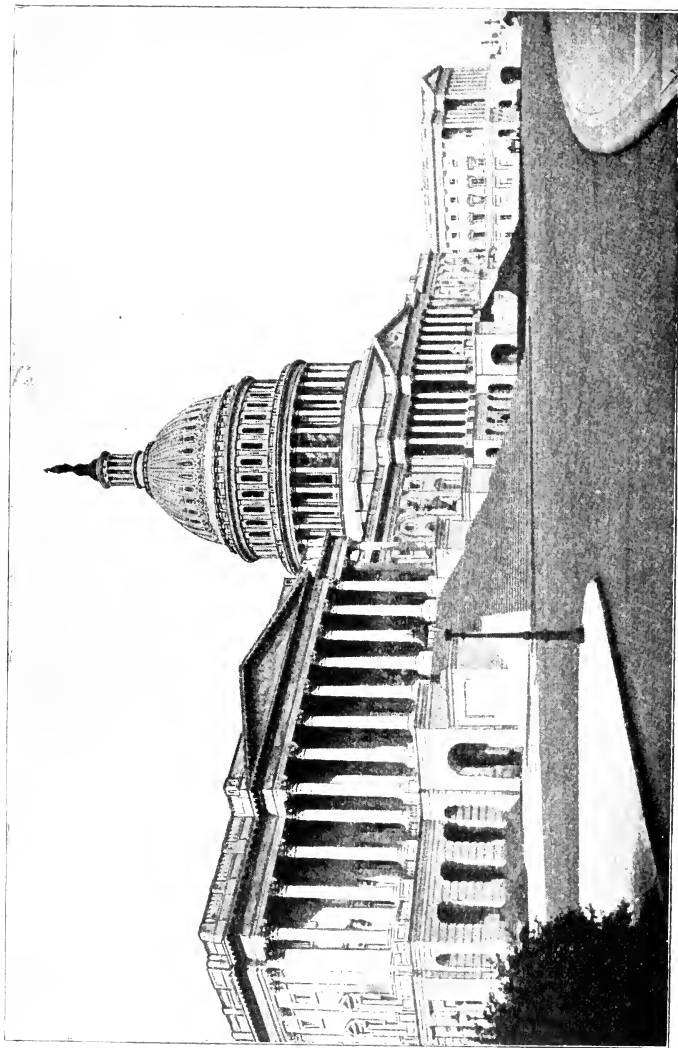


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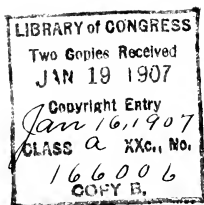
A HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

With an Introduction Narrating
THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT
OF
NORTH AMERICA

BY
HORACE E. SCUDDER
AUTHOR OF "A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
FOR THE USE OF BEGINNERS"

WITH MAPS, PORTRAITS, AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE.

A DOZEN years ago I wrote a school history of the United States, and the test of its use has shown me wherein it was defective. My own study of history during the same period has furthermore enabled me to see how I could improve my original presentation of the subject. The present book is the result. The general structure remains the same as before; there is the same cleavage of periods, and the same interpretation of cause and effect in the development of the Union. But the emphasis is somewhat differently placed, and a much greater attention has been paid to that element of personality which gives vitality to all history. By biographic detail and a liberal use of portraits I have sought to interest the student in the men who have been the architects of the nation.

When I introduced my first book I said: "The secret of success in any history must lie in the power of the author to conceive the développement of life, and to discover the critical passages, the transition periods, the great epochs. I hope I have helped young people to understand the movements which I see from the time when America was first disclosed to the eyes of Europe down to the present day. I wish to emphasize my sense of the importance to American children of connecting the history of their country with the changes which have been taking place in Europe during the period of our growth — changes of the utmost consequence in the development of our own national life, an understanding of which is essential to an intelligent reading of American history. Therefore I have never lost sight of the fact that down to the close of the last war with England, America faced the Atlantic; and any one

who would read her history aright must often take his stand upon the European shore."

But there are two other considerations which have grown to be still weightier in my mind during the past decade. One is the momentous importance of a clear conception in the minds of pupils in our schools to-day of the vital connection between the present and the past. The other is the equally important need of an interchange of acquaintance between the different parts of the nation. As the vigorous Scripture has it: "Now hath God set the members each one of them in the body, even as it pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now they are many members, but one body. And the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; or again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you." Therefore it has been of the greatest interest to me to try to give the students of American history in the East some notion of the great expansion of life in the West; to give to Western students a clear intelligence of the beginnings of the nation in the East; to reconcile the minds of the North and the South by a fair disclosure of the underlying conditions which led to the rupture, now happily closed; above all, to show that institutions of free government are not born in a day to be overthrown in a night, but that they are the slowly developed results of struggle and toil and sacrifice, not to be lightly swept aside as if they were mere fashions of an hour.

I have written in the thought that our country is a land which was reserved until the new birth of Europe; that it was peopled by men and women who crossed the seas in faith; that its foundations have been laid deep in a divine order; that the nation has been trusted with liberty. A trust carries with it grave duties; the enlargement of liberty and justice is in the victory of the people over the forces of evil. So I bid God-speed to all teachers of those who are to receive the trust of citizenship.

H. E. S.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

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HINTS TO TEACHERS.

THE history of the United States may fairly be said to begin with the fall of Quebec, for just as soon as it was determined that the English were to be masters of the continent, the spirit of self-government began to assert itself, and agitation did not cease till the colonies were organized as States, and the States composed a Union. All that precedes the fall of Quebec, therefore, is treated as Introduction to the history.

The plan of the book is designed to help the student to a logical conception of the history of the country; for one of the great advantages gained by the study of history is the strengthening of the logical faculty, — the practice of answering the *whys* of events. Thus, following the Introduction which shows the ways leading up to the Union, there are two books, one devoted to the establishment of the Union which took place when the new nation was rendered finally independent of Europe, the other devoted to the development of the Union, a process still going on. Again, each book is divided into chapters, designed to group the great topics of the book, and each chapter is broken up into sections, representing the succession of topics; under these sections there are sometimes given unnumbered sub-sections, indicated like the main ones by heavy-face type, and for convenience in seeing distinct statements, these sections are often broken up into paragraphs.

It will be found of advantage to give to each part, to each subdivision, indeed, a thorough review before proceeding to the next. For this purpose a series of aids to the pupil has been provided. At the end of each chapter will be found questions covering the paragraphs in the chapter. They are

questions which cannot be answered by *yes* or *no*; they require the pupil to know what he has studied, and very often to have thought carefully about what he has read. They do not exhaust the subject, — any skillful teacher can vary and multiply questions indefinitely, — but they serve the purpose of enabling a pupil to try himself. The best questions are those which grow out of the recitations of a pupil, and the series given in this book should be taken as containing rather suggestions than a hard and fast set of questions. It is advised that these questions on the text be not used by the teacher in hearing the recitation, but for purposes of review. Along with each of these series is another briefer series, to be used, as the title Search Questions implies, to quicken the student's interest in the period just studied. There are numberless byways which a school history cannot explore; no history will answer all the questions which spring up in the mind of an intelligent reader, but the life of historical study consists first in mastering the material placed before one, and then in pushing on, in exploring the territory laid open. These Search Questions are not idle conundrums, and they do not often refer to what may be called the mere curiosities of history; but they are designed to start the student upon research, and upon using the books whose titles are jotted down at the foot of the page.

It is important to bear in mind that a capital opportunity is afforded by the study of history for the cultivation of the faculty of expression. A word for word recitation of the chapter is not to be encouraged. It is a feat of the memory, and may be quite unattended by any real appropriation of the passage recited. But pupils should be encouraged to use, when they recite, finished sentences, and not be allowed in a careless fashion to fall into a broken, halting, ungrammatical way of tumbling out facts: a scholar who recites in this loose manner will not really know what he is reciting half so well as when he has trained himself to frame neat, clear, and compact statements. For this reason, a teacher should not only make much of perfection of the spoken answer, but should use

the history work as the basis of literary work. To aid the pupils, a number of subjects for composition and debate have been provided after each chapter. They are suggestions only, but they may serve to prompt other subjects also. Especially it would be well to call frequently for the writing of biographical sketches. Outlines of leading facts have been given both in the text and footnotes, and by means of these, encyclopedias, and regular biographies, very interesting studies of the lives of men of importance can be drawn up.

The debates which are suggested afford an excellent opportunity for training in expression, and for bringing out the knowledge of the debaters, and the accuracy of their information. It is a good plan to let two of the class act as leaders and choose sides just as in any game; then to give the two parties time to divide up the subject, and to work by themselves over the treatment of it. During the debate, if careful rules are regarded, it should be a part of the game for the opposite side to ply the debater with questions. Debates conducted before the whole school not only train the debaters, but serve as an excellent quickener of the wits of those who listen.

The study of civil government may be promoted by an organization of the school or class into a Debating Club with officers and a constitution.

The maps, large and small, offer good opportunities for special examination and review. In reviews of this kind, it is not necessary to draw the map upon the board. Let the pupil have the map before him. By a little practice he will become very expert in the needed preparation for these special exercises.

It may be a disappointment to some not to find the facts of this history regularly marshaled under the separate administrations. There is no doubt an advantage in such an arrangement. It helps the memory by associating the succession of facts with successive quadrenniums, which in turn are named after the Presidents in their order. On the other hand, there is a degree of artificiality in such a disposition of history.

The changes in administration have been of consequence, sometimes of great consequence; but it is likely to give a mistaken notion of the relation of administrations to the development of the nation, to mislead one as to the true cause for the effects produced, when the incidents of the history are fixed by the law of association with certain persons at the time holding office. I have, therefore, while noting the administrations in turn, treated them as parts of the incident of history rather than as four-mile posts. But it would be a fresh exercise of a review order to call for a recital of historic facts under each administration.

Finally, a word should be said of the use to which the copious Index may be put. The familiar use of an index is to find the page readily where a person or an incident is treated; the history becomes a good book of reference when it is equipped with a good index. But there is a further use which so full an index as the one here given will serve. It brings together many scattered references to some one subject which is not treated once for all in a single passage, and it may be made the means thus of a further review. Suppose, for example, a pupil is writing a biographical sketch of a character in history. By reference to the index he will very likely find incidental references which otherwise might escape him. Or again, if one wished to trace the relations of France with this country, the entry under the general head of France would enable him to follow the thread from the fishermen of Brittany to Maximilian.

Thus I have tried to make every part of the apparatus of the book reënforce the teacher in his effort to use this History as a work to instruct, to train, and to inspire the pupil in the acquisition of that great and important task, a knowledge of the nation in which he is a freeman and in whose destiny he has a part.

PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY OF PROPER NAMES AND TECHNICAL TERMS IN CHAPTER I.

Cristoforo Colombo (crēs-tōf'ō-rō
cò-lōm'bō).

Christopher (crīs'tō-fer). The word means "Christ bearer." There is a legend of a strong man who carried the child Christ across a river, and thence was named Christopher.

Azores (ā-zōrz').

La Rabida (lā rā-bē'dā).

Pinzon (pēn-thōn').

Palos (pā'lōs).

Khan (kān).

Mohām'mēdāns. The followers of Mohammed, or Mahōm'et, an Arabian religious leader and soldier (A.D. 570-632).

Santa Maria (sān'tā mā-rē'ā) = Holy Mary.

Cār'avēl.

Sargas'so. The Sargasso Sea lies between latitude 16° and 38° north and longitude 30° and 50° west. It is a great floating mass of seaweed drifting about the Atlantic.

Bahama (bāh-hā'mā).

Hispaniō'lā = Little Spain.

Don, from the Latin *Dominus*, "master" or "lord." The title in Spain now means scarcely more than "Mr." means among us.

Coat-of-arms. The knights in the Middle Ages wore over their armor a coat embroidered with figures which denoted their family or estate. These coats are no longer worn, but the figures continue to be used as signs of noble birth, and are called coats-of-arms.

Veragua (vā-rā'gwā).

Amerigo Vespucci (ā-mā-ree'go
vēs-poot'chee). His name in its Latin form, was Americus Vespu-
cius.

Strasburg (strās'boore).

Vasco da Gama (dā gā'mā).

Toscanelli (tōs-cā-nēl'li).

Juan Perez (wān pā'rēth).

Diego (dē-ā'gō).

Granada (grā-nā'pā).

Cipango (chī-pān'gō).

Behaim (bā'hīm).

League (lēg) = about three miles.

Porto Rico (pōr'tō rē'kō).

Ponce de Leon (pōnss de lee'ōn').

Pascua Florida (pās'koo-ā flōr-ee'-
thā).

Bālbō'ā.

Magellan (in Spanish pronuncia-
tion, mā-hel-yān', but commonly
pronounced in English, mā-jēl'-
lan).

Yucatan (yōō-kā-tān').

Hernando Cortez (hēr-nān'dō cōr'-
tez, Spanish kor-tās').

Vera Cruz (vā'rā kroos), meaning
"true cross."

Montezuma (mōn-tē-zoo'mā).

Pizarro (pē-zā'r'ro).

Fernando de Soto (fēr-nān'-dō dā
sō'tō).

Coronado (ko-ro-nā'-do).

Cañon (kān'yūn). A deep defile
between steep walls or banks,
usually with a stream flowing at
the bottom.

Zuñi (zoon'yē).

Moqui (mō'kē).

INTRODUCTION.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

SPAIN AND AMERICA.

1. Christopher Columbus. — In Genoa, Italy, somewhere between 1436 and 1446,¹ was born Cristoforo Colombo. His name was written Columbus in Latin, which was then the language used by all who read and wrote, and as Christopher Columbus he has been known ever since to English-speaking people. He left school when he was about fourteen, and was sent to sea to finish his education and to learn to command a vessel. Like those seamen of his time, who were more than common hands, he made a careful study of maps and charts, read the stories of travelers, and busied himself with questions as to the shape of the earth and its size.

Learned men had long held the opinion that the world was a globe instead of being flat, as the common people and the more ignorant supposed. Columbus also believed it to be a globe; he thought it, however, not perfectly round, but pear-shaped. He thought it, too, much smaller than it really is. By his study of charts and his talks with scholars he decided that if he were to sail due west from the Canary Islands, he would cross about four thousand miles of ocean and reach the eastern shore of Asia. In point of fact, that was not far from the distance to the Gulf of Mexico.

¹ The exact date is not known.

2. Why should he wish to go by Sea to Asia? — Nowadays our geographies give us abundant information about Asia; on our maps, every river and mountain range and cape can be traced; we know the cities and provinces and separate nations; and we have books which tell us of the people, their mode of life and what they produce. It was not so in the time of Columbus. Asia was a vast, vague land, at the extreme east of which lay the countries which we now know as China, Japan and the East Indies, while the ocean flowed beyond.¹

From these countries caravans came, bringing silk, pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, and spices, and Genoa and other Italian cities grew rich through commerce; for their merchants sent ships to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean to trade with the Asiatics who had crossed the continent. But when Columbus was a boy, a great blow had been struck at this commerce.

The Turks, who before had lived in western Asia, swarmed into Europe and captured the great city of Constantinople. They controlled now all the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and it became a perilous matter to send ships there. Thus it was of the greatest moment to find, if possible, some new route to the Indies. The Portuguese, under the lead of their prince, Henry the Navigator, had been slowly following the coast of Africa.²

3. The Struggle of Columbus to get a Hearing. — Columbus himself went to Lisbon about 1470 and for a while carried on his business of map making there and sometimes went to sea with Portuguese captains. He knew therefore of the discoveries

¹ The book above all others which gave Columbus and the men of his time their notion of Asia was the famous adventures of Marco Polo, written about 1300. The Old South Leaflet, No. 32, contains *Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java*.

² Prince Henry was filled with zeal for discovery. He built an astronomical observatory in the southernmost province of Portugal and devoted himself to study. From that point he directed a series of voyages from 1418 to 1463, and after his death the work went forward, until in 1497 Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed to India.

along the African coast, but he was convinced that there must be a shorter route to Asia, and he was confirmed in this belief by the advice of a great geographer and map maker, Toscanelli, who sent him, in 1474, a map which showed a straight course across the Atlantic.¹

It was one thing to believe in such a route; it was quite another to follow it. Map makers could bring forward excellent arguments in support of their belief; but the only argument really convincing was to take a vessel and sail across the ocean. Columbus was a poor man, and he must needs persuade some one who had money to join him. For twenty years he carried his great purpose in his mind before he could bring it to pass. He tried in vain to persuade the magistrates of his native city of Genoa to join him.

He laid his plans before the King of Portugal, who took counsel with learned men about him. These men publicly ridiculed Columbus as a crazy adventurer; but privately they told the king there might be some truth in what Columbus said, and the king was base enough to send out a vessel secretly, to get all the advantage there might be for himself. But it needed a Columbus to carry out the ideas of Columbus. The captain of the vessel sent out by the king put out from the Azores, but meeting a storm, he was frightened and turned back. Columbus heard of what was done and indignantly left Portugal. He bent his energies toward persuading Ferdinand and Isabella,² King and Queen of Spain, to give him aid, and failing in that, he tried to bring some of the noble families to his side; through his brother Bartholomew he made an equally vain attempt to interest the English court.

4. The Triumph of an Idea. — For seven long years he pushed his great enterprise. Poor, ridiculed as a madman, almost friendless, Columbus clung to his belief; and at last his faith

¹ The letters which Toscanelli wrote to Columbus at this time will be found in Fiske's *Discovery of America*, I. 356-362.

² *The History of Ferdinand and Isabella* has been written by W. H. Prescott; it is one of the most readable of American histories.

was rewarded. Here one and there one was convinced by his persistence and his undaunted confidence. His best friends were in the monastery of La Rábida, not far from the seaport of Palos. The story goes that when, worn out with his disappointments in Spain, he was about to set out for England, he stopped at the monastery with his son, a boy of eleven or twelve.¹ Here he met the prior of the monastery, Juan Perez, who had been the father confessor of Queen Isabella.

Perez became greatly interested, and sent to Palos for two men of importance: one was a physician who was very curious in geographical matters; the other was a shipowner and captain, Martin Pinzon. So deeply did Columbus impress them,



La Rábida.

that the prior set off to the camp of the Spanish armies, for Spain was then waging war with the Moors, who had long before come over into the Spanish peninsula from Africa. There he saw Isabella, and persuaded her to send money to Columbus and invite him to appear before her.

5. The Queen of Spain is won over.—The queen and her counsellors were so convinced by the arguments of Columbus, that she promised to take up the matter in earnest just as soon as the Moors had been conquered. On the second day of January, 1492, the Moors surrendered Granada,² and Columbus was summoned to the court.

He went, but not as a suppliant. So filled was he with the

¹ This boy, Diego, afterward became page to Queen Isabella.

² One of Washington Irving's most captivating books is *The Conquest of Granada*. Irving was United States minister to Spain, and he wrote with the added charm of one who knew the country well.

magnitude of his enterprise that he demanded great power and honor for himself. The king and queen turned away from this dreamer, and Columbus, once more baffled, mounted his mule and set off this time for France. But the friends of Columbus, who had influence at court, could not bear that Spain should lose the glory so nearly in her grasp. They redoubled their appeals to the queen, and she, moved by their zeal, sent a messenger after Columbus. She would herself bear a large part of the expense, and an agreement was made between this adventurer and the crown of Spain.

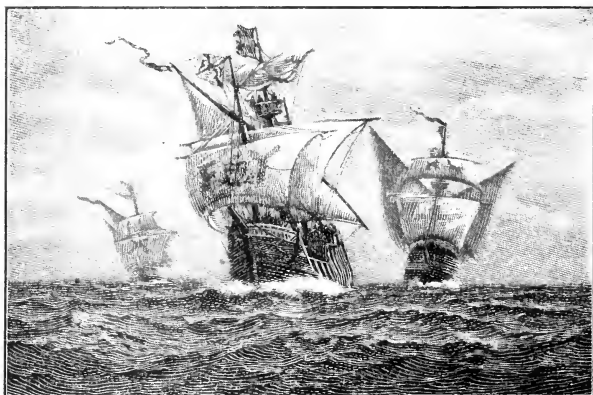
This agreement is an interesting one, for it shows what was in the minds of those who made it. Columbus was to have for himself and heirs the office of admiral; he was to be governor general over all the lands and continent he might discover or acquire; he was to reserve for himself one tenth of all pearls, precious stones, gold, silver, spices, and all other articles of merchandise obtained within his government; he might share in the expense of the enterprise with his sovereigns to the extent of one eighth and receive one eighth of the profit. Add to this that the king and queen gave Columbus a royal letter to the Great Khan, a vaguely known potentate of Asia, and that Columbus was to devote the wealth gained to fitting out a new crusade for the rescue of the Holy Sepulcher,¹ and it will be seen that this voyage of discovery was in the minds of all a great religious enterprise.

The one eighth of the expense which Columbus was to bear was lent to him by the brothers Pinzon, who were of the greatest service; for it was very difficult to find sailors ready to venture out into the Sea of Darkness, as they called the unknown Atlantic, and the Pinzons by taking command of two of the three vessels of the fleet gave courage to their townsmen. The Santa Maria, the largest of the three, was commanded by the Admiral, as Columbus was now called. It was only about sixty-three feet long, twenty feet broad at the

¹ For four hundred years the Christians of Europe had been engaged in an attempt to recover Jerusalem from the Mohammedans.

widest part, and ten feet deep; indeed, no one of the three was larger than a small coasting schooner. In the whole expedition were ninety sailors and thirty gentlemen and priests, and provisions were carried for a year.¹

6. The Sailing of the Fleet. — On the third day of August, 1492, the fleet set sail from Palos and steered for the Canary Islands, which were under the control of Spain. By the map of Toscanelli, which Columbus is believed to have taken with him, if they sailed due west, on the 28th parallel of latitude,



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Fleet of Columbus.

they would strike the northern end of Cipango, or Japan. One of the caravels, as the vessels were called, lost her rudder on the way, and the fleet remained in port a month for repairs. On the 6th of September, they left the Canary Islands and sailed westward over the unknown seas.

Terrors of the Voyage. — Ten days later they entered the vast tract of seaweed which forms what is known as the Sargasso Sea. The sailors were terrified, for they thought they must be

¹ It is interesting to see just what was the fullest knowledge scholars had of the globe in the year when Columbus made his first voyage, and this can be seen by consulting the globe made by Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, in 1492. It is not impossible that Columbus met Behaim in Lisbon.

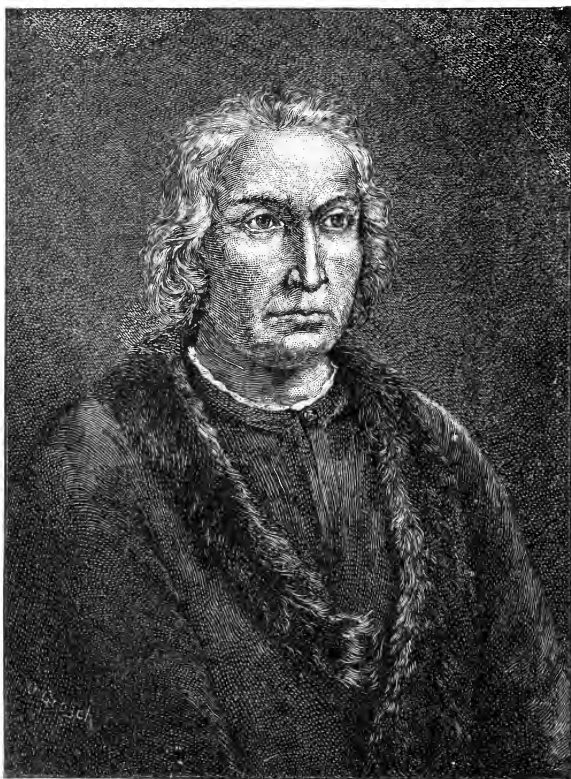
So desperate did the men become, that they began to plot against Columbus; and some went so far as to propose to throw him into the sea and return to Spain with the story that he had fallen overboard. But they feared that they had gone beyond the reach of any wind that could carry them back to their homes. Columbus used all his arts to govern the unruly sailors and discontented gentlemen. Sometimes he encouraged them with gentle words, telling them what great fame and riches would be theirs if they kept on, or what honor they would have in the Church. Sometimes he threatened them with the displeasure of the king if they disobeyed him.¹

7. The End of the Voyage.—Five weeks, to a day, after leaving the Canary Islands there were unmistakable signs of land. A stick carved by hand was picked up from the water, and a branch with berries upon it. A reward in money had been offered to the first person who should see land, and all were now on the lookout. About ten o'clock at night, Columbus, standing on one of the castles² of his vessel, saw a light in the distance. The light moved, and he called two of his companions to see it. It may have been a light in a boat. Land was near and, at two in the morning, was seen in the moonlight by a sailor who was on the lookout in one of the other vessels.

It was Friday, the twelfth day of October, 1492. Columbus, in a full suit of armor, carrying in his hand the royal banner of Spain, landed upon the island and planted the cross. He was attended by officers and gentlemen, and by many of the crew, and as soon as they touched the shore, they all fell upon their knees and with tears of joy gave thanks to Almighty God.

¹ Columbus feared that if his crew knew how far they were from the land they had left, they might become desperate and mutiny; accordingly, he kept two reckonings: one true, for himself, the other a pretended one, which made the distance sailed each day less; this was for the officers and crew.

² The castle was a structure like a raised deck, built at either end of the vessel. Hence the term "forecastle" in modern ships.



Christopher Columbus.¹

¹ There are many portraits of Columbus, and they do not all agree in likeness. One of his companions has described him as tall and strong, with a fair, fresh complexion, and bright, piercing eyes. In later life, he had long, white, streaming hair.

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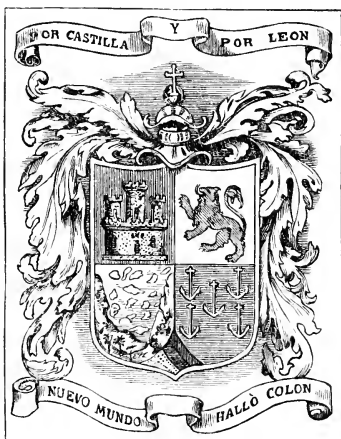
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ia and America in the 15th and 16th Centuries.



Return to Spain. — The island which had then been found was one of the group known now as the Bahama Islands. Columbus embarking again passed other islands, coasted by Cuba, and came finally to Hayti, to which he gave the name of Hispaniola. He was quite sure that he had reached Japan, and after building a fort and leaving some men to hold it, he sailed with his fleet back to Spain, taking with him ten of the natives of the land, of whom six lived to reach Europe. He carried with him also some live parrots and some stuffed birds, a few pearls and trinkets of gold. He had not much to show, but the imagination of men made these things into signs of vast riches.¹ At all events Columbus had actually found a straight course by sea to the Indies.

He had left the kingdom like an adventurer; he was received now as a hero. The king and queen paid him great honor. They gave him the title of Don; they granted him a coat-of-arms such as



Coat-of-Arms of Columbus.

only very noble men were permitted to bear; he rode by the king's side; he was served at table as a great man; and when he desired to make a second voyage, every aid was given him. Columbus knew that he had thus far visited islands only; but he thought that they were islands lying near the eastern coast of Asia. The name Indies was given to the coast; and since these islands had been reached by sailing westward, they came to be spoken of as the West Indies, and the people found upon them were called Indians.

¹ Columbus's *Letters to Gabriel Sanchez*, describing the First Voyage and Discovery, is printed in No. 33 of *Old South Leaflets*.

8. The Fate of Columbus.—Columbus made not only a second voyage, but a third and a fourth. For ten years he was engaged in exploring the islands, and even set foot on the shore of South America. He was convinced that he had not reached the mainland of Asia and looked for a strait where the Isthmus of Panama is; but all the time he was endeavoring also to find gold mines and to establish the government he had been promised. He made many enemies and once was sent back to Spain in fetters. He spent his last days in sickness and poverty and died in 1506.¹ He never fully perceived how he had opened the way to a great continent, though some of the men of his time were persuaded of it; his own brother Bartholomew made a map, recently discovered, which clearly shows it. Columbus had the courage and faith and wisdom that carried him across the Atlantic, when others only dreamed of such a thing. The men who came after him reaped the reward he never gained. He did not even have the honor of leaving his name upon the new world.

That honor fell to another explorer, Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine, who sailed first in the employ of Spain and afterward in that of Portugal. Vespucci made several voyages, including one which made known a large part of the Atlantic coast of South America, and wrote a letter containing an account of his discoveries.² This letter, in 1507, the year after the death of Columbus, was printed at the printing press of a college near Strasburg; and the printer, who was a geographer, said in his preface: "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, may well be called Amerige (that is, the land of Americus), or America." The name America was placed on maps of South America and printed in books, and finally was applied to all America.

¹ A descendant of Columbus, the Duke of Veragua, visited the United States at the time of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The most readable life of Columbus is that by Washington Irving; the most learned, and the one that brings to light the latest researches, is Winsor's *Christopher Columbus*. A very interesting account may also be read in John Fiske's *The Discovery of America*.

² See *Old South Leaflets*, No. 34.



Amerigo Vespucci. Born 1451; died 1512.

9. The Line of Demarcation.—At the time when Columbus made his voyages, the great exploring nations of Europe were Spain and Portugal. Both countries recognized the pope as supreme, and to prevent them from quarreling over their discoveries, Pope Alexander VI. decreed in 1494 that there should be a “Line of Demarcation” drawn north and south on the map 100 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands, and that whatever was found to the west of that line should belong to Spain; whatever was found to the east should belong to Portugal. A treaty shortly after between Spain and Portugal made it 370 leagues. By this agreement Brazil fell to the share of Portugal.¹

10. The Extension of Geographical Knowledge.—From the islands where the Spaniards established government they

¹ Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822, when it became the Empire of Brazil; the empire was overthrown in 1889 and a republic, the United States of Brazil, set up in 1891.

made their way to the neighboring mainland. One of the governors of Porto Rico, Ponce de Leon, when making a voyage, touched the coast of the continent somewhere opposite the Bahamas. It was Easter Sunday when he first saw the land. The Spaniards call that day Pascua Florida, March 27,
1513. or "Flowery Easter"; and so he named the country Florida. Like others, he was looking for what he had been told he should find in Asia, and his special desire was to find the fountain of youth, the waters of which made old men young again.

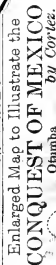
Ponce de Leon was the first Spaniard, apparently, to land on the soil of what is now the United States, and that was twenty years after the first voyage of Columbus. There were two other men, near the same time, who did much to open the eyes of the world to the fact that America was not a part of the continent of Asia. One was **Balboa**, who was at the head of a company of men at Panama. The natives made out to tell him of another sea lying beyond the mountains, and he set forth with his men to find it. He fought his way through hostile tribes and at last saw before him a height from which, his Indian guides told him, he could look upon the sea. He bade his men remain behind, and went alone to the summit. There he stood and beheld the broad Pacific, the first man from Europe to see that sight.¹

Something of the extent of this newly discovered ocean was learned when **Magellan**, a Portuguese captain in the service of Spain, boldly sought to follow the coast of South America, as others had followed that of Africa. He passed along the eastern coast until he came to the strait now known by his name.

1520. He followed this strait and sailed upon the great ocean, crossing it and making his way to the East Indies. The islands in this archipelago had already been reached by Portuguese sailing eastward. This was the first time they had been reached by vessels sailing westward.

¹ There is a line in Keats's famous sonnet, "On first looking into Chapman's Homer," which is drawn from this incident.

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Mageñan himself was killed on one of the islands, but his companions kept on to Spain round the Cape of Good Hope. Thus men had at last sailed round the world. After this there was no longer any doubt that the world was a globe.

11. The Conquest of Mexico. — The Spaniards, as they pushed their explorations about the Gulf of Mexico, were always on the lookout for gold and silver, and they expected to come upon great cities and powerful kings. It is but a short distance from the western extremity of the island of Cuba to Yucatan upon the mainland. The first Spaniards who crossed the channel brought back word that they had found men dressed better than those on the islands, and living in buildings made of stone and mortar, and in every way more civilized.

Cortez. — The governor of Cuba thereupon sent an exploring expedition under command of his secretary, Hernando Cortez, who sailed along the coast until he came to a favorable point, where he established a fortified camp, 1518. and named the place Vera Cruz. From this point he marched his army, less than five hundred in number, into the heart of Mexico. Sometimes he made friends of the natives; sometimes he fought them. He got possession finally of the most important chieftain, Montezuma, and, after a short period, Mexico, with its rich mines, became a Spanish province.

Pizarro. — Another Spaniard, Pizarro, conquered Peru, and all the western coast of South America, as well as Central America, came under the control of Spain. A great many Spaniards came over to America to make their fortunes in these countries.¹

12. Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto. — Meanwhile the attempt to get control of that part of the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico now occupied by our Southern States was less successful. Fernando de Soto, a companion of Pizarro, determined to conquer Florida, as all this country was then

¹ Prescott's two books, *The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru*, give brilliant accounts of the Spanish occupation. A novel, *The Fair God*, by General Lew Wallace, author of *Ben Hur*, states the traditions of Mexico under Montezuma. One of Henty's stories, also, *By Right of Conquest*, is based on Cortez's expedition.

called, and set out with a great expedition. The march was a continual fight with savage tribes, and the army dwindled away, but De Soto pushed on until he came to a point
 1541. not far from where the city of Memphis now stands; there he saw the great river Mississippi, which lay across his path.

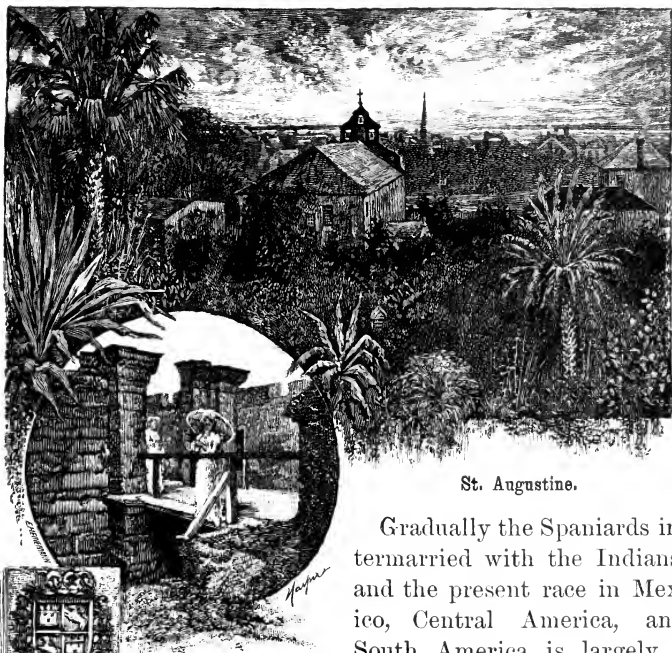
But nothing came at the time of this discovery. De Soto died and was buried in the river; the gaunt, famished remnant of his party straggled back to the coast.¹ A later expedition headed by Coronado,² has a special interest for Americans to-day, because it penetrated what is now New Mexico and Arizona; and the chronicle gives an account of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, and of the strange cliff dwellings of the Zuñi and Moqui Indians, half-civilized tribes that have remained with little change in the same region to this day.³

13. The Spaniards and the Native Americans. — The Spaniards thus had slight hold on the country which now forms our Gulf States, though they had made one small settlement in Florida, of which the only remaining sign is St. Augustine;
 1565. but they were securely established in Mexico, Central America, the western part of South America, as well as in Cuba and other islands. By the force of a superior race, a comparatively small number of Europeans kept under their dominion the natives of these regions. The Indians submitted to the Spaniards, obeyed their laws, and adopted their religion. They tilled the ground, herded cattle, and worked in the mines. They were not slaves in name, and many laws were made to prevent them from being sold into slavery; nevertheless they were in one form or other bound in service.

¹ See "The Death of De Soto," from the *Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas*, in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 36.

² See *Coronado's Journey to New Mexico and the Great Plains, 1540-42*, No. 13 of *American History Leaflets*.

³ A lively account of these Indians was written by Mr. Cushing, who lived long with them. It may be found in *The Century Magazine* for December, 1882, February and May, 1883.



St. Augustine.



Spanish Coat-of-Arms.

Old Gateway,
Fort San Marco.

Gradually the Spaniards intermarried with the Indians, and the present race in Mexico, Central America, and South America is largely a mixed race. To-day, though Spain has lost all her posses-

sions in the Western Continent, the Spanish language may be heard from the northern part of Mexico to the southern extremity of South America; and Spanish customs and laws, as well as the religion of Spain, mark the hold which Spain once held in the Western world.

QUESTIONS.

What was the birthplace of Columbus? What was his occupation after he left school? What did he and others of that time think of the shape and size of the world? How did Columbus propose to reach Asia? How far off did he think Asia to be by water? What book gave the fullest account of Asia in early times? What two ways of going to

India by water were possible? What nation took the lead in the route round Africa? Name the great Portuguese promoter of exploration. Who finally rounded the Cape of Good Hope? Whom did Columbus seek to interest in his plan? What trick was played upon Columbus in Portugal, and how did it turn out? Tell the story of Columbus after he left Portugal. Who were the best friends of Columbus? What were the terms of the contract between Ferdinand and Isabella and Columbus? How did Columbus intend to use the wealth he should gain? Describe the fleet of which Columbus was admiral. When did it sail, and where did it direct its course? Point out on the map the location of the Sargasso Sea. What signs of land were seen? How did Columbus encourage his men? Describe the discovery of land, and the ceremony of taking possession. Describe his reception on his return to Spain. How many voyages did Columbus make? Did he see the mainland of America? What is the story connected with the naming of the New World? What was the Line of Demarcation? What is the origin of the name Florida? Relate the story of Balboa. When was the first voyage round the world made? Who first of Europeans saw the Mississippi River, and at what point? What is left to Spain of her American possessions?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What is the meaning of the name Mediterranean Sea? What great empire once controlled it wholly? What is now the great Mediterranean of the world? Columbus thought it four thousand miles from the western coast of Europe to the eastern coast of Asia; if there had been no American continent in the way, how far would it have been, sailing due west from Palos? Is the Holy Sepulcher still in the hands of Mohammedans? Mention some of the places and geographical points in America which owe their name to Columbus. Columbus looked for an opening in the Isthmus of Panama that he might push on to China and India; how does the modern world hope to accomplish the same purpose?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

Boyhood days of Columbus.

Influences that led Columbus to make his voyage.

An imaginary letter from the sailor on the lookout.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That Columbus was justified in deceiving his companions

Resolved, That this continent should be called Columbia.

CHAPTER II.

THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA.

Pueblo (pwěb'łō).	Sā'chem.
Wigwam (wīg'wōm).	Mobilians (mō-bil'yānz).
Canoe (kā-nōō').	Palisade (pāl-ī-sād').

14. The more Civilized Peoples. — When the Spanish took possession of Mexico and Central America, they found a people more civilized than the natives of the West India islands; they found also remains of a still earlier civilization. We find to-day, in New Mexico and Arizona, a remnant of the more civilized race of Pueblo Indians¹ in the Cliff Dwellers, who cultivate fields which they have learned to irrigate, and weave and make pottery which shows a sense of beauty.

In the Mississippi Valley, and especially in the valley of the Ohio, are found to-day great mounds, some of them shaped like animals. There is one in Loudon, Adams County, Ohio, known as the Serpent Mound.² These mounds have been opened, and a great many domestic utensils and what are thought to be burial urns have been taken out.³ Ashes have been found in them, as if great fires had been built; but whether these mounds were burial places, or places of worship, or sites for rude houses, cannot always be known. At first there was a

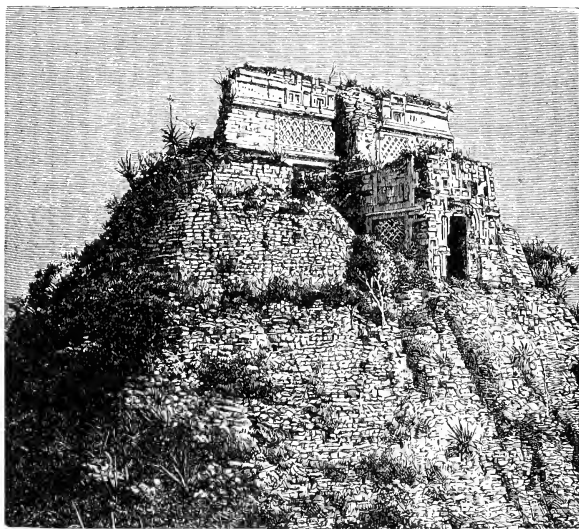
¹ The Pueblo Indians lived in communities on the plains; for defense they climbed to natural shelves along the sides of cliffs; hence the name.

² This mound and the land about it constitute a park of seventy-five acres owned by the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. See a full account in *The Century Magazine*, March, April, 1890.

³ Squier's *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, though printed many years ago, is the most satisfactory account in general of the mounds. See also Short's *Americans of Antiquity*, and *The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley*, by Lucien Carr, *Smithsonian Report* for 1891.

disposition to regard the people who built these mounds as a distinct race, but many scholars now regard them as the ancestors of the tribes found by Europeans when they first visited the country between the Mississippi River and the Alleghanies.

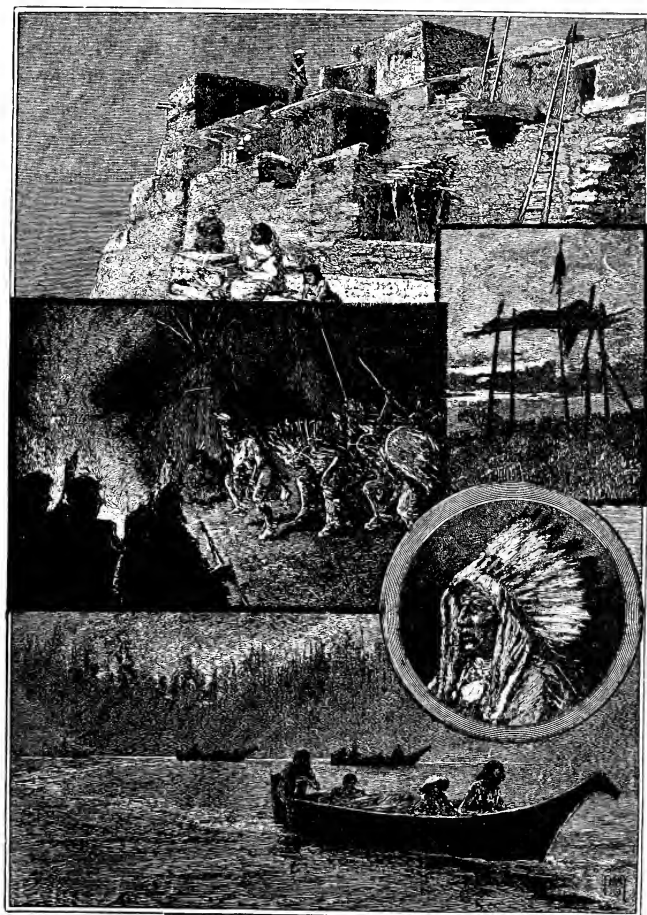
15. The Indians on the Atlantic Coast. — The Indians living between the Atlantic coast and the Mississippi Valley were cinnamon-colored, had high cheek bones, long, coarse, black



The So-called House of the Dwarf.¹

hair, and small, black eyes. They lived upon the fruit they found, the fish they caught, the animals they killed; some

¹ This is one of a great many buildings, the ruins of which may be seen to-day in Yucatan and Honduras, often in the depths of forests and overgrown with vegetation. Like a number, it is a temple crowning a pyramid. This pyramid has a very steep slope, about one hundred feet in height, and is reached by a succession of steps. The temple, which is richly ornamented, consists of two parts, one reared on the summit, the other looking like a chapel lower down. The cut is taken from Charnay's *Ancient Cities of the New World*, a book which describes the ruins in Central America as seen in 1880. See also Short's *Americans of Antiquity*.



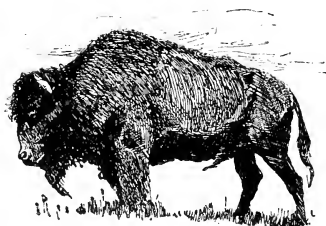
Various Scenes in Indian Life: Cliff Dwelling. — War Dance. — Exposure of the Dead. — Travel by Water. — Chief's Head.

lived upon maize or Indian corn which they planted. If everything else failed, they could dig roots and eat them. They did not look forward very far, however, so that there were times when they suffered severely from want of food.

They used bows and arrows in hunting. The arrows had flint heads, and their hatchets were made out of flint. They cooked their food by roasting it over a fire, or stewing it in unglazed earthenware pots. But since these pots would have been cracked in a fire, they heated the water by putting in red-hot stones. They wore as little clothing as they could in warm weather, and when winter came, they dressed themselves in skins from the animals which they killed. On great occasions they used ornaments of claws and feathers. When they went to war, they smeared themselves with colored clay.

Their houses were made by driving poles into the ground in a circle and drawing their tops together. Then they covered the poles with bark or skins, and the wigwam, as it was called, was finished. Inside there was a hole in the ground for a fire; and the family slept on skins or bushes. The women, who were called squaws, did the work, not only of cooking, but of planting the corn and gathering it, of dressing the skins, and of making the wigwams. They bore the burdens when moving from one place to another. Until Europeans came, there were no horses in the country.

The Buffalo. — As the game upon which they depended moved about the country, so the Indians roved in search of it. The



Buffalo.

buffalo was an animal every part of which the Indian used. He cooked or dried the flesh, for food. He tanned or otherwise dressed the skin and used it for his bed, and he cut it up for ropes and cords. The marrow served for fat. The sinews made bowstrings. The hair was twisted into ropes and halters,

and spun and woven into a coarse cloth; the bones made war clubs, and the shoulder blades were used for hoes. They made canoes from the bark of trees, and paddled along the rivers and lakes. By looking at a map which has no State lines

upon it, one can see what a network of waterways covers the country now occupied by the United States.

Their Country. — Living thus out of doors, the Indians learned the ways of bird and beast. They became swift of foot, quick of eye, cunning and ready. They learned to endure hardships; to go a long while without food. They could find their way through the woods by signs which white people never saw. They had names for all the places which they visited. Every waterfall, river, lake, mountain, valley, and cape was named by them, and very many of these names were taken up by white settlers and remain to this day. Some of the names of our States are Indian names. A number of Indians living together and hunting together formed a tribe, and these tribes had their own names. Each tribe had a sachem, who was chief; and the right to be chief often continued in the same family. But if a sachem lost the respect of the tribe, the warriors would choose another, who was usually one of his relatives.

16. The Main Groups of Indians. — There were three principal groups of Indian tribes east of the Mississippi. In the north the most powerful were those which went by the name of the Iroquois. They were made up of distinct tribes, at first five, afterward six, banded together in a league, with laws and government.¹

The Iroquois had their home within the borders of what is now the State of New York, but they also drove out the tribes living in the region south of Lakes Erie and Ontario, and on the peninsula east of Lake Huron. The Algonquins, the other great northern group, covered nearly all the rest of the country east of the Mississippi and north of what is now North Carolina. In the south were the Mobilians, comprising Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. These various groups had each its own language and customs. War was constantly carried on between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. They did not meet each other in the open field. The Indian mode of

¹ For this reason they are sometimes called the Five Nations or the Six Nations.

warfare was to steal through the woods and come suddenly at night upon a camp of the enemy.

17. The Traits in Common. — Though the tribes differed from one another, all the Indians were in some points alike. They were brave, but they were also treacherous. They never forgave an injury. They could bear hunger and torture in silence, but they were cruel in the treatment of their captives. They were a silent race, but often in their councils some of their number would be very eloquent. They had many legends about the world in which they lived, and they believed in spirits who lived around them in the water and the air. In each tribe there were "medicine men" so called, who were regarded as magicians. The brave Indian believed that after death he would go to the Happy Hunting Grounds. It is not possible to say how many Indians there were when Europeans first came to this continent. It is supposed that, through wars with one another and with the whites, the race has been fast disappearing; but it is known that during the past thirty years the number has increased.¹

¹ A comprehensive book on the Indians is *The Red Man and the White Man*, by George E. Ellis. Parkman's *The Oregon Trail* gives an interesting account of his life among the Indians. The best stories in which Indians figure largely are Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*. The most famous poem relating to the Indians is Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

QUESTIONS.

Name the three classes of natives who have left monuments or other signs of partial civilization. What was the appearance of the Indians on the Atlantic coast? What was their food? How were they housed? Describe the uses to which the buffalo was put? What was their mode of life? Describe the tribal life. Locate the Iroquois; the Algonquins; the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. What were their religious ideas? Name some of the characteristics of the race.

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Name some of the more considerable mounds. Name the rivers, mountains, lakes, and towns in your State which have Indian names.

Where are some of the tribes named in this chapter still to be found? Name some poems with Indian characters. Which of the States have Indian names?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

An account of explorations in Central America.

An account of the Zuñis.

Description of a mound.

The story of an Indian from childhood till he becomes a warrior.

An account of some Indians I once saw.

Indian characteristics gathered from *Hiawatha*.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That the Indian was better off before the white man came to America.

Resolved, That Indian names are better for places in America than European names.

Resolved, That the mound builders were identical with the American Indians.

Resolved, That the settlers were justified in taking the land from the Indians without paying for it.

Resolved, That the Indian can be civilized.

CHAPTER III.

THE FRENCH, THE DUTCH, AND THE SWEDES.

Newfoundland (nū'fünd-land').

The name was first applied to all the countries in the northeast discovered by the first English voyagers, but afterward was used only for the island which continues to be so called.

Nova Scotia (nō'vā skō'shīā) was so named, later, because of Scotch settlers. The words are Latin for New Scotland.

Banks. Shoals in the sea, near the coast.

Breton (brēt'ōn).

Verrazano (vēr-rā-tsā'nō).

Labrador (lāb'rā-dōr).

Jacques Cartier (zhāk kār-tyā').

Chaleur (shā-lōōr'). From a French word meaning "heat."

Neth'erlands. Originally both Holland and Belgium. The name signified "lowlands."

Huguenot (hū'gē-nōt).

Champlain (shām-plān').

De Monts (deh mōn').

Acadie (ä-kä-dē'). The English form is *Acā'dia*. The Indian form from which the name is derived appears in the ending *quoddy*, a kind of fish, — as *Pas-samaquoddy*.

St. Croix (sānt kroi').

Port Roy'al. The king's harbor.

Ignatius Loyola (ig-nā'shus loi-ō-lā), 1491-1566.

Iroquois (īr-ō-kwoi').

Ottawa (ōt'tā-wā).

Jean Nicolet (zhāp nē-kō-lā').

Joliet. The town in Illinois named from the explorer has been anglicized to *Jō'le-ēt*.

Marquette (mar-kēt').

Arkansas (är'kān-sā').

Kaskaskia (kās-kās'kī-ā).

Chevalier de la Salle (shēv'ā-lēr'-deh lä sāl'). The title *chevalier* corresponds in general to the English "knight," and means, literally, a rider of horses.

La Chine (lä shēn', China).

Hennepin (hēn'e-pīn).

Miami (mī-ām'ī).

Louis (loo-ee'). But the English form "Lewis," is frequently used.

D'Iberville (de-bēr-veel').

Holland is a short form of "Hollow land," or "low land."

Henry Hudson. The Dutch called him *Hendrik Hudson*.

Minuit (mīn'ne-wīt).

Christina (krīs-tē'nā').

18. The Breton Fishermen make their Way to America. — While the Spaniards were taking possession of the central and southern parts of America, other European peoples were making

acquaintance with the more northern parts. At this time, by the rules of the Church, nearly one third of the days in the year were fast days, on which no meat could be eaten; and in consequence the fisheries had become of great importance. On both sides of the English Channel, and on the western coast of France, a large part of the population was engaged in this business. The fishing grounds near at hand became so exhausted that the hardy fishermen ventured farther each year, until at last they came to the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia and fished on the Banks, which still furnish a yearly harvest to thousands of fishermen; but they troubled themselves very little about the land that lay near.

A few captains, indeed, explored the coast. Cape Breton owes its name to the fishermen from the Breton country in France. When the French king resolved to have a share in the New World, these fishermen became his best helpers. The explorers whom he sent out naturally gathered their crews in the Breton ports, and found that the men already knew something of the coast.

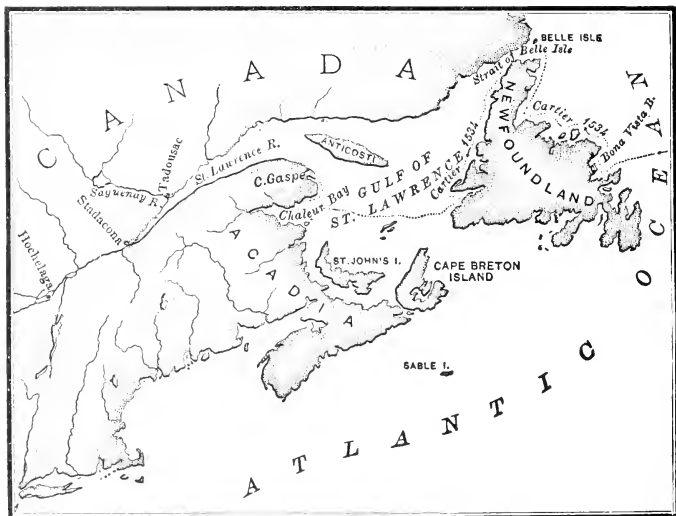
19. The Voyages of Verrazano and Cartier.—Verrazano, an Italian sailor, was sent out by Francis I., King of France. He reached the American coast near what is now called Cape Fear, and cruised northward, visiting probably the bay of New York and Narragansett Bay.¹ Like other 1524. explorers, he was searching for a passage to India. His voyage convinced him that the land which he had visited was a part of a great continent; and when he took into account the southern voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese, he came to the belief that a short passage to India was impossible, since there must be land all the way from the Strait of Magellan to Labrador.

Cartier.—The French were eager to know more of the new country, but wars followed, and it was ten years before the king took further action. Then he sent two ships to America under

¹ *Verrazano's Voyage* is the title of No. 17 of *Old South Leaflets*. It is a translation of his account.

the command of Jacques Cartier, to make further explorations, and still, if possible, to find a way to India. Cartier cruised

1534. about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to which he gave that name. He entered a bay, which, on account of the heat, he named the Bay of Chaleur. There he landed and took possession of the country in the name of the King of France. This ceremony consisted in setting up a cross and fastening upon it the king's coat-of-arms. The next year he



St. Lawrence River and Gulf.

returned and sailed up the St. Lawrence, saw the great rock on which Quebec now stands, and pushed on as far as to where is now the city of Montreal.

20. Champlain's Discoveries. — An attempt was made by the Huguenots, as those Frenchmen were called who rebelled against the authority of the Pope, to make a settlement in Florida, but it failed, and the seat of the most active French enterprise was upon the borders of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Cartier had taken possession of the country in the name of

the King of France, but its real occupation was by the hardy men who fished in the waters of the Gulf, and sometimes carried back to Europe furs and skins which they obtained from the natives. The fur trade at last began to tempt adventurers and explorers. The greatest of these explorers was a French gentleman, Samuel de Champlain, who made his first voyage to Canada in 1603. He ascended the St. Lawrence River as far as the site of Montreal, and carried back to France maps of the country which he had seen, and many interesting notes concerning the people, animals, and plants.

Acadie. — The next year a Huguenot, De Monts, who was in favor at court, received authority to plant a colony in Acadie, the name given to the country claimed by the French, extending from the Delaware River

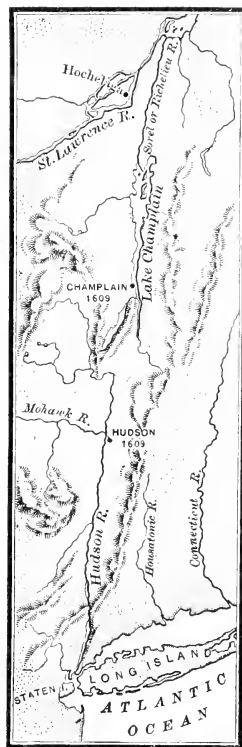
1604.

to the St. Lawrence. De Monts took Champlain with him, and established a fur-trading post on an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River, but afterwards removed it across the Bay of Fundy to the Annapolis Basin and named the place Port Royal. (See map, p. 94.)

Champlain was persuaded that the banks of the river St. Lawrence offered the best site for a colony, and four years later he ascended the river again and founded Quebec, which became the center of trade, of

1608.

missions, and of military operations. From this point he made bold excursions into the wilderness. The most important of his associates were not soldiers or fur traders, but priests.



Explorations of Champlain
and Hudson.

21. The Jesuits.—During the religious conflicts which had stirred Europe, a Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, had founded the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, who claimed to be special champions of the Pope. They were like soldiers in an army, bound to one another and to their officers by the strictest rules and by loyalty to their order. The Jesuits had more than a military courage and zeal. They were missionaries of the faith, and were among the first to plunge into the wilderness of Canada. They went there to convert the savage Indian, and endured hardships which no common soldier would have had the courage to meet.¹

22. The French in their Relation with the Indians.—The Indian of the north was a stern, silent man, who knew the rigors of a northern winter, and the perils of the wilderness. His highest idea of courage was to suffer without complaining. When, therefore, the Jesuits and other priests came without weapons, shared the life of the Indians, and were ready to go beyond their bravest men in endurance, the Indians learned to respect the newcomers, and in many cases to submit to them and accept the religion which they taught. The French soldiers also were willing to live much as the Indians did, and thus easily made friends with them. The Indian tribes were often at war with one another; and the French, by taking sides with a tribe and going with it to fight its enemies, won it over to strong friendship.

The most powerful people were the Iroquois. On the northern lakes and on the Ottawa River were their bitter enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, and these persuaded Champlain

1609. to join them in an attack upon the Iroquois. Champlain, like other explorers of his day, was bent on finding a way to China; and since the tribes at war with the Iroquois could be of most service to him, he formed an alliance

¹ Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World* and *The Jesuits in North America* give very interesting accounts of these early French enterprises. The Jesuits sent home letters detailing their experiences. These *Relations*, as they were called, have been translated and published in a series of volumes.

with them. He gained a victory over the Iroquois, which made them lasting enemies of the French, but he returned after discovering the lake which bears his name.

23. Exploration of the Great West.—The St. Lawrence afforded a way into the interior, and as early as 1615 Champlain reached Lake Huron with the flag of France; and on the map which he drew, is shown in the vague region beyond, the home of a people whom he describes as “a nation where there is a quantity of buffalo.” This land was the great prairie where were villages of the Illinois tribe of Indians. As governor of New France, he sent his interpreter, Jean Nicolet, in 1634 on a tour of exploration, and Nicolet set foot on what is now the soil of Michigan and also penetrated Green Bay in Wisconsin. Champlain died shortly after, and no great leader of the French took advantage of Nicolet’s report.

Joliet and Marquette.—It was not till 1672 that Louis Joliet, born and bred at Quebec and familiar with the Great Lakes, was sent out to discover the mouth of the great river of which many reports had come from the Indians. This was the Mississippi, and no one knew whether it flowed into the South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was called, the Gulf of California, or the Gulf of Mexico. Joliet’s companion was the priest Marquette.

They descended the Wisconsin River, already known, to the Mississippi, visited some Illinois villages, and kept on as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. Then fearing to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they returned, and leaving the Mississippi at the Illinois River, ascended that river, and at last reached Lake Michigan. They had made it clear that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. Marquette afterward established a mission amongst the Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia, and spent a winter within the limits of the present city of Chicago.¹

¹ In Marquette’s journal of the winter of 1674–75, the name of an important Indian is preserved in Chachagon-ession, a man much esteemed, he says, partly because he concerned himself with trade. It is supposed that the name “Chicago” was adopted from this name.

24. La Salle and his Adventures. — Thus the discoverer and the missionary were the pioneers in pushing forward the boundaries of New France, and they were followed by men who more distinctly took possession of the new lands in the name of the King of France. Chiefest of these was the Chevalier de la Salle.

1666. He came out to Canada to seek his fortune, and was granted a tract of land a few miles beyond Montreal. There he gathered men about him, and made a fortified settlement, as a center of the fur trade. The name given to the place, La Chine, shows what was on La Salle's mind; he was filled with a desire to find the South Sea, and he proposed to conquer the country on the way and bring it under the sovereignty of France.

La Salle built a strongly fortified post on Lake Ontario, near the present town of Kingston. This was to be the starting point of his expeditions; and from here, in 1678, he made the first of a series of journeys which lasted nearly ten years. One of the parties sent out by him, a friar, Louis Hennepin, was the first to see and describe the Falls of Niagara. La Salle built vessels and explored Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. He built forts on Lake Ontario, on Niagara River, and on the Illinois River where Peoria now stands, meaning by the chain of forts to hold the land for France.

The Mississippi Valley taken Possession of for France. — At last La Salle made the great journey for which he had been planning. With a party of Frenchmen and Indians¹ he set out from Fort Miami, on the Maumee River. He carried 1681. his canoes from stream to stream, until he reached the Mississippi and floated down its current. He passed from winter into spring, and at every stage of his progress he felt his great dreams to be turning into realities. He came among people who had never seen a white man. Everywhere he took

¹ It is an interesting fact that these Indians were mainly Mohicans who had been driven west by the results of King Philip's War (see Section 48, below), and that it was New England Indians who thus voyaged with him to the Gulf of Mexico.

possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV., King of France, while the Indians looked on in ignorant wonder.

Louisiana. — Upon the marshy borders of the Delta, La Salle formally claimed for his master the vast territory drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and named it Louisiana. It was now the king's by title, and he meant to make it the actual property of France. He retraced his course, 1682. and laid plans for a fortified settlement upon a great rock on the Illinois River. Here he meant to have a trading post, and a defense against hostile Indians. It was to be one of the links in a great chain of fortified posts between the Lakes and the Gulf. He named the place Fort St. Louis, but it is now known as Starved Rock.

La Salle returns to France. — He hastened back to France, where his wonderful journey made him a hero. A man who could add an empire to France was not likely to be denied what he asked for. With two great rivers under their control, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the French would have the whole vast interior of the continent in their hands. When, therefore, La Salle laid before the king his wish to build a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, and establish a colony there, the king at once aided him and placed four ships under his command. The king was more ready to do this because he was at war with Spain, and hoped by this means to attack the Spanish possessions in America.

The Failure of La Salle's Plans. — The expedition sailed with great expectations, but failed miserably, and La Salle himself was treacherously killed, when trying to 1684. make his way to Canada. His discoveries, however, led the French to send out an expedition under D'Iberville, 1699. and to make a settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi. A communication was kept up with Canada by means of the great river. Military posts were planted at intervals along the way. There were settlements about them, to which the Indians came to trade. At each, also, was a mission of the Church. Indeed, the priest often came before the

soldier, and the mission house and chapel rose before the barracks.¹

25. The Dutch in Holland. — While the French were thus finding their way into the interior of the continent, by means of the great rivers and lakes, another European people were also taking advantage of a water highway. The Netherlands had revolted from Spanish rule and established a vigorous Protestant state, known as the Dutch Republic. The land

1581. which it occupied, now called Holland, was protected from the ocean by great dikes, and crossed by a network of canals which connected with arms of the sea and with navigable rivers. The land lying between the canals was very rich, and was cultivated with great industry; the canals were the roadways for boats which plied between different parts of the country, and made all the towns busy with trade and commerce.²

Dutch Enterprise. — The Dutch were also famous fishermen. Their vessels swarmed about the coast and in the North Sea; and, since this sea was a dangerous one, the Dutch sailors became brave and daring, skillful in managing their vessels and in acting as pilots. They were the merchants for all the neighboring countries, carrying their vessels into the ports and rivers of Europe, and sending out fleets to the East Indies, whence they brought back spices and other products of the tropics. Their enterprise and courage made the Dutch, with their little territory, able to resist the power of the great kingdom of Spain.

26. Henry Hudson and the New Netherland Company. — In consequence of this trade and industry, great cities sprang up in Holland. The merchants formed companies, the better to carry on their trade; of these one of the most important was the East India Company, which was very anxious to find a

¹ See Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. Nos. 5 and 6 of *Historical Classic Readings* are very pertinent here.

² A useful little book, and one which gives an idea of the Dutch connection with America, is *Brave Little Holland, and what she has taught us*, by W. E. Griffis. A most interesting picture of life in Holland is to be found in Mrs. Dodge's bright story, *Hans Brinker, or the Silver Skates*, as also in her later book, *The Land of Pluck*.

shorter route to the East Indies than by the long and perilous passage round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1609 they engaged an English captain, Henry Hudson, to find such a passage. He first tried the northeastern route; but when he was blocked by the ice, he turned back, and determined to find some opening in the land which lay to the west.

Hudson ascends the North River. — He crossed the Atlantic, and came upon the opening which is now the harbor of New York. He discovered the great river flowing into it, and sailed slowly up its stream in his ship, the *Half Moon*. He went to the head of navigation, and then sent out parties to explore. They returned with reports which showed that the river lessened as they went up higher, and he sailed down the river again, crossed the Atlantic and entered an English port.

Hudson sent to the East India Company at Amsterdam an account of what he had discovered; but the English would not let him return to Holland. He sailed again the next year for an English company, and discovered a great bay in the frozen north. The river and the bay both bear his name, though the river has also always been known as the North River.

First Dutch Settlements. — The East India Company was disappointed that Hudson had not found a new route to India, and paid little attention to his discovery of a great river and a noble country. Some Amsterdam merchants, however, saw an opportunity for trade, and sent out vessels to obtain furs, a commodity very much in demand in the cold northern countries of Europe. The traders established themselves at the mouth of the Hudson River, on the island which was called by the Indians Manhattan.

They made explorations up and down the coast, and soon found how rich the country was, and how easy it was to obtain valuable furs in exchange for a few paltry trinkets. A company was formed, called the New Netherland Company, which had the sole right for three years to occupy this territory and trade there. It erected forts on Manhattan Island, and on the site of Albany, then called

1615–
1618.

Fort Orange,¹ and gave the name of New Netherland to the country.²

27. The West India Company. — When the rights of the company ceased, a new and more powerful company was formed in Holland in 1621, called the West India Company, with full control of New Netherland. It was a trading company like

the others, but it was intended also to dispute the Spanish power in America. The Dutch captains, like the English, found a profitable business in capturing Spanish vessels. The West India Company encouraged people to settle on its lands; it explored the North River and the South River, now known as the Delaware; and villages grew up about Fort Orange, and at New Amsterdam, as the Dutch called the settlement on Manhattan Island.

Patroons. — In order to induce men to occupy New Netherland, the company gave to any of its members who should buy land of the Indians, and form a col-

ony of fifty persons, the right
1623. to almost absolute power over

land and colonists. These owners were called patroons, and they acquired very

large estates. The patroons sent out farmers, cattle, and tools. They established trading posts also on the Connecticut, as well as on the North and South rivers.

28. New Sweden. — The Dutch and the Swedes had much in common, especially in their religion, for they were both strong Protestant countries; and after some unsuccessful attempts on the part of Sweden to plant colonies in America, a Swedish-

¹ The Dutch pronounced this name somewhat like Aurania.

² In Higginson's *Young Folks' Series*, No. 7, is *Henry Hudson and the New Netherlands*.



Flag of the Dutch West
India Company.

Dutch trading company was formed. Peter Minuit, who had been prominent in New Amsterdam, was the leader of a colony which reached the shores of the Delaware River in the spring of 1638.

The colonists purchased land of the Indians on the west bank of the river and built a fort near the site of the present city of Wilmington, Delaware, which they named Fort Christina, after the Queen of Sweden.¹ The queen and her counsellors determined to make the colony more distinctly Swedish. Emigration was encouraged, the Dutch interest was bought out, and active measures were taken to make a flourishing settlement.

The Dutch invade New Sweden.—At first the relations between the Swedes and the Dutch of New Netherland were friendly, but as years went by the Dutch were unwilling to see their settlements on the Delaware fall into the hands of the Swedes, and they invaded New Sweden, as it was called, besieged Fort Christina, and gained control of 1655. the region. Sweden made a slight effort to recover the territory, but emigration ceased. The families already planted there, however, continued to flourish under Dutch rule; and many well-known families in our day along the Delaware are descendants of these Swedes.

¹ Hawthorne has a sketch of Queen Christina in his *Biographical Sketches*.

QUESTIONS.

Why had fish become so important to Europe in the sixteenth century? How were the fishermen helps to the early French explorers? When did Verrazano set sail and with what object? What was the result? What Frenchman followed him and what did he accomplish? In what part of America were the French more permanently settled? What made the occupation of the St. Lawrence River country most effective? What two industries attracted Frenchmen thither? To what French explorer are we especially indebted for early knowledge of the country? How has his name become permanent in America? Who was Loyola and what order did he found? How did the Jesuits differ from other priests? How did they attempt to convert the Indians? How did the French

make lasting enemies of the Iroquois? Describe the successive explorations in the west of Champlain, Nicolet, Joliet. What is the first known reference to Chicago? What was the date of La Salle's coming to Canada? In what part of the St. Lawrence River does the name of his settlement survive? Who first saw and described the Falls of Niagara? Narrate the explorations by La Salle which ended with the full discovery of the Mississippi. What Spaniard once discovered the lower waters of that great river? Where did Louisiana get its name? What did that name at first cover? What did the French do to hold possession of the Mississippi? What is the nature of the country of Holland? Under what rule was it once? What made the Dutch merchants, navigators and fishermen? What was the Dutch East India Company, and why did it send Hudson to this country? Where did Hudson go? What became of him? What was the immediate effect of his discovery? What was the nature of the Dutch occupation? Narrate the successive stages in the Swedish occupation of the Delaware country.

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Name some places in the United States which show signs of former French occupation. How near did Champlain and Hudson come to each other in their explorations? The French Huguenots failed in making a settlement in Florida. There was a tragedy at Fort Caroline. What was it? By what right does a nation lay claim to the territory of a country? Where and when was made the first permanent French settlement in America? Why did not Champlain continue his explorations southward after discovering Lake Champlain? What explorations did Champlain make along the Atlantic coast? What is the origin of the word "Montreal"? Where do our furs to-day come from? Find some names in New York which are of Dutch origin. What price was paid by the Dutch to the Indians for Manhattan Island?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

A contrast of Chachagou-Ession and Chicago.

A description of Niagara Falls as they must have been when Hennepin made his discovery.

Hudson's explorations in the bay that bears his name.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That it was better for after generations that the Dutch rather than the French should have settled on the shores of the Hudson.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA. I.

Cabot (kǎ'bot).

Bē'ring. The strait so called was named from its discoverer, a Dane.

Plymouth (plīm'ŭth).

Raleigh (raw'li).

Pām'licō.

Rō'ānōke.

Gosnold (gos'nold).

Newport News (nūs). A cape at the entrance of the James River. The name originally was Newport-Newce, Sir William Newce, the marshal of the colony, being a neighbor of Newport.

Parliament (pār'li-ment). The body in English government which corresponds to our Congress. The word is from the French, and means "the talking body."

Powhatan (pow-hǎ-tǎn').

Pōcāhōn'tas.

Pyrites (pī-rī'tēz). A yellow dust of no value, that looks like gold.

Delaware. The old form is "de la Warr."

Pāt'ent. A legal paper giving special rights. The term is now used of inventions, but formerly it covered the right to plant colonies and hold land.

Leyden (li'den).

Delft Hā'ven. The harbor at Delft,

in Holland, eight miles from Delft, and near the city of Rotterdam.

Mayflower. The English Mayflower plant was the hawthorn; but the name in America was applied, very early, to the trailing arbutus, which is abundant in the woods near Plymouth. The **Speedwell** was also named from an English flower.

Charter. A patent gave rights to hold property or to trade. A charter gave, besides, certain rights of government.

Massachusetts. This was the name, as the English wrote it, of a tribe of Indians occupying the country.

Harvard University, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, takes its name from John Harvard, a minister of Charlestown, who left his library and half of his property to the college, which had been determined upon two years before his death.

Groton (grō'ton).

Suffolk (sŭf'fŭk) = South Folk.

Windsor (wīn'zer).

Connecticut (kŏn-nĕt'i-kŭt). An Indian name, meaning "the long river."

Gorges (gŏr'jĕz).

Saco (sə'kō).

Piscāt'aqua.

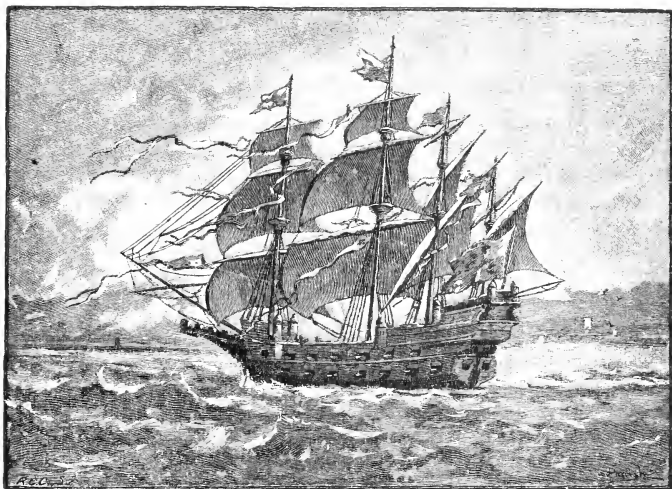
Maine is said to derive its name from the use of the term to distinguish the mainland from the islands on the coast.

Commonwealth. The name by which England was called when

under the rule of Parliament and Cromwell.

Stuyvesant (stī've-sant).

Rev'ue. The money received from taxes and custom-house dues.



The Great Harry, — the First Famous Ship of the English Navy. Built in 1512.

29. The First English Discoveries. — Each of four great nations of Europe made its separate entrance into America, and at the first occupied its separate territory; and each was looking for India. The English were very early on the ground. In 1497, but five years after the first voyage of Columbus, John Cabot, a Venetian captain, living in England, sailed out of Bristol in search of a northwest passage to India. He came upon the coast of North America near Cape Breton, and on a second voyage the next year followed south and westward nine hundred miles.¹

¹ *Documents describing the Voyage of John Cabot in 1497* will be found in No. 9, *American History Leaflets*.

The English at first paid little heed to these discoveries made by Cabot. They were intent on finding a way to India by the northeast; and only by repeated failures to get through the Arctic Ocean north of Asia, did they turn their attention to the Northwest Passage.¹ During the earlier part of the sixteenth century, England was inferior in power to Spain and France, but it gathered strength, especially at sea.²

The south and west coast of England contains the harbors from which most of the vessels sailed, and the busiest of these was the harbor of Plymouth. Near by lived Sir Francis Drake, who, like Balboa, had seen the Pacific from Panama, and could not rest till he had sailed upon it. So, in the autumn of 1577, Drake set sail with a fleet of five vessels. Three years later, he sailed into Plymouth harbor with a single vessel. He had visited the coast of what is now California, and, crossing the Pacific Ocean, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and thus sailed round the globe. All England rang with his fame.



Sir Francis Drake. Born about 1545; died 1595.

30. Sir Walter Raleigh and his Ventures. — A great rivalry sprang up between England and Spain, which was partly com-

¹ Many lives were lost in attempts to find a Northwest Passage before it was recognized that the route is of no commercial importance. The first party of Europeans to make the journey between Bering Strait and Baffin's Bay was Captain M'Clure's in 1852-53, which went partly by water, partly over ice.

² See, for a spirited tale of this period, Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!*

mercial, partly religious, and English statesmen turned their eyes toward the New World where Spain had acquired great wealth. One of these statesmen, Sir Walter Raleigh, was occupied with great affairs in England, but he had large designs for colonizing America. Heretofore, Spaniards and Frenchmen had built forts and overrun the country, but their possession had been a military possession. Raleigh and other



Sir Walter Raleigh. Born 1552.

Englishmen had it in mind to occupy the land with families, to till the soil and make homes.

Raleigh sent two vessels to explore, which sailed by way of the Canaries and West Indies; and coming upon the shore of what is now North Carolina, anchored in Pamlico Sound, and visited Roanoke Island. The explorers brought back glowing accounts of the land and the people, and Raleigh obtained consent from the virgin Queen Elizabeth to

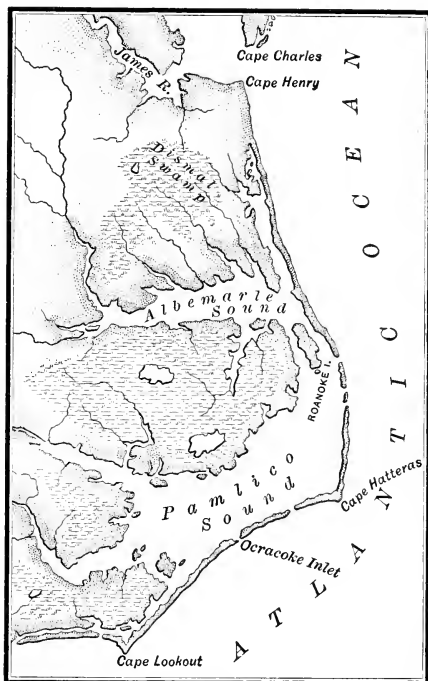
name the country after her, Virginia. This name was at first applied to all the country lying between the French possessions and the Spanish, and extending no one knew how far to the west.

Raleigh at once laid plans for a great colony. In the spring of 1585 he sent out seven ships, which carried a hundred colonists, several of whom were men of learning and fame. The settlers got into trouble with the Indians and in a year or two returned to England, bringing with them the first tobacco

ever seen in Europe. Raleigh was not discouraged. The next summer he sent out a fresh expedition, which for the first time included women. A child, named Virginia Dare, was born in the colony, the first born in America of English parentage. She was the granddaughter of John White, the governor of the colony. 1587.

The Lost Colony. —

White returned to England for further help; he found the country engaged in a new war with Spain, and it was three years before he could get back to Virginia. When he did return, not a colonist was to be found, nor any trace of the company beyond a few letters cut in the bark of a tree. Raleigh sent vessel after vessel in vain search for the lost colony. He himself fell into trouble at home, and at last could do nothing more in Virginia. He



The Coast visited by Raleigh's Vessels.

He said, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation." But he did not live to see this. He was a victim of the troublous times which were coming upon England, and was put to death by King James I. He intended his colony to bear the name of Raleigh, and that name was afterwards given to the capital of the State formed from the 1618.

region in which he sought to plant his colony. It is a famous name in English history, and the story of Raleigh's attempt shows how the greatest Englishmen were thinking of the New World.

31. The Virginia Company. — In the year in which Raleigh

sent out his last vessel to search for the lost colony, 1602. the Earl of Southampton sent Bartholomew Gosnold, with a small vessel, to plant a colony in Virginia. Gosnold reached the coast near Casco Bay, sailed south, and visited a cape, to which he gave the name of Cape Cod, which it has ever since borne. When he returned to England with accounts

of the country which he had visited, he persuaded a 1602. number of men of influence to form the Virginia Company, an association somewhat like the stock companies of our day, but designed chiefly for trade and for settling new lands.

This company received the right to hold all the land from Cape Fear to the St. Croix River. King James I., who succeeded Queen Elizabeth, was anxious to increase his own power, and to make the royal family more independent of

Parliament and the people. The patent which he 1606. gave the Virginia Company, therefore, provided carefully for the government of such colonies as the company might form. The king was to appoint the managing council. The Virginia Company was in two divisions, called the London Company and the Plymouth Company. The former, composed chiefly of men living in London, was to trade and form colonies in the southern part of the territory. The latter, composed of members living about Plymouth, was to control the northern part.

The Jamestown Settlement. — The next year the first permanent settlement by Englishmen in America was made.

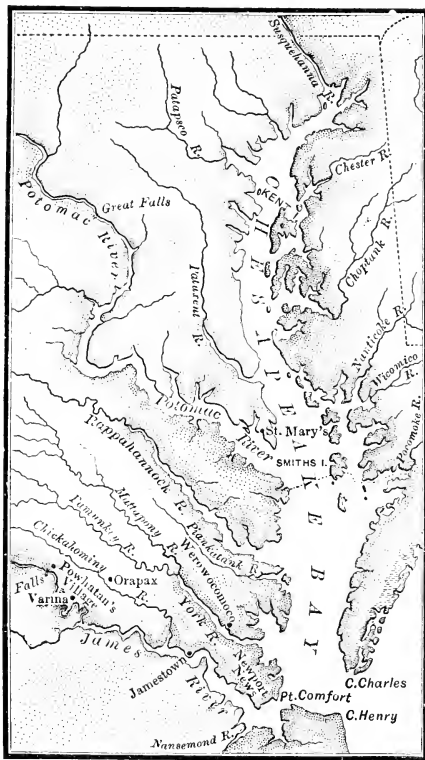
The London Company sent out about a hundred men 1607. in a fleet of three vessels, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport,¹ who was instructed to land on Roanoke Island. A storm arose off the coast, and drove the fleet into

¹ His name remains in Newport News.

Chesapeake Bay, which they entered for shelter. They were so attracted by the beauty of the place that they determined to settle there; and after exploring the shores of a river, which they named the James from the King of England, they chose a low peninsula¹ for their settlement. There they landed, May 13, and called the place Jamestown. They had named the two capes at the entrance of the bay, Cape Henry and Cape Charles, for the sons of the king.

32. The Founding of Virginia. — Not half of the colony had ever worked with their hands. Most of the members were gentlemen who hoped to find gold at once, and make their fortunes; but they fell to work in the pleasant weather, cut down trees, built huts, and made rude clapboards, with which they loaded two of the vessels, and sent Captain Newport back with them to England. He was to return with supplies.

A terrible summer followed. The peninsula, which they had chosen for security against the Indians, was an unhealthy



First Settlement in Virginia.

¹ What was then a peninsula has since become an island.

spot, and a pestilence swept away half the colony. If it had not been for some Indians, who brought them corn, the rest would have died of starvation. The frosts of autumn stayed the pestilence, and the colony then found an abundance of game. The Indians, for the most part, were friendly, but they had not forgotten the wrongs which they had suffered from the parties sent out by Raleigh; and the English were too ready to use their guns whenever they fancied the Indians meant to attack them.

The Story of Pocahontas. — The most powerful chief in the neighborhood was Powhatan, who had his principal village on the bank of what is now York River. Captain John Smith, the real leader of the colony, was exploring the country with two men, when the Indians fell upon them, killed the two men, and carried Smith captive to Powhatan, who determined to put him to death. Smith tells the story that, at the moment when his head was laid upon a stone, and Powhatan stood with an uplifted club ready to dash out his brains, Pocahontas, a young daughter of the chief, rushed in and begged her father to spare the white man's life; whereupon Smith was released. Certain it is that Powhatan, after this, treated the English kindly; and Pocahontas, who was a lively Indian girl, made friends with them, visited Jamestown, and finally married one of the colonists named John Rolfe, with whom she went to England. She was greatly admired there as an Indian princess, but died before she could return to Virginia.

Hunting for Gold. — The company in England still believed that Virginia was near India; and when they heard stories about Powhatan, they imagined him to be a king of great importance, and sent a crown to be placed on his head. They bade the colonists also hunt for gold, and for the South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was called. Captain Smith had sailed up the rivers and about the bays without finding any way through to India. He made expeditions up the Atlantic coast also, and published more than one account of his voyages, with

maps. Indeed, he did more perhaps than any single person to make the new country known in England. Some people had discovered a substance, which they supposed to be gold.



Captain John Smith. Born 1580; died 1631.

They loaded a ship with it and sent it back to England; but it proved to be iron pyrites, or fool's gold.

Reënforcements from England.—In spite of the ill success of these first ventures, there was a strong conviction in England that emigration to Virginia was a good thing, and that this

new country would give a fresh chance to the multitude of poor in England. A new charter was obtained by which the company could manage its affairs and emigration better. Sermons, even, were preached in the churches, advising the poor to go to Virginia. When finally, after various disasters, a fleet commanded by Lord Delaware, who had been appointed Governor of Virginia, drew near the settlement, it met the wretched colonists coming down the river. They had been so discouraged and were in such trouble with the Indians that they had determined to abandon Virginia.

Tobacco. — A change at once came over the colony. Lord Delaware was the first of a succession of governors who managed Virginia very much as if they were kings with absolute power over their subjects. They made very severe laws, and compelled every one to work for the company. They built forts, and on the slightest pretext attacked the Indians and burned their villages. The settlements on the James River began to

1616. thrive, and large plantations were formed. The settlers began to plant tobacco after the custom of the Indians about them, and to export it to England. In vain did the King of England, James I., write a tract against the use of the weed. It became at once popular in England, and the chief source of wealth in Virginia.

33. The Separatists. — One year after the first English colony was planted at Jamestown, a number of families from the northeastern part of England made their way secretly to Holland, where they settled, first in Amsterdam and afterward in Leyden. They belonged to a class of religious persons known as Separatists, because they had separated from the Church of England.

The Church of England had separated from the Roman Catholic Church; but these Separatists declared that the teachings of the one church were but little different from those of the other. They believed that true religion is simple, and that when a few people come together with their Bibles, they can teach one another all that is needed for a

religious life. The Church of England demanded obedience; and since it was a part of the government of the land, it could enforce this obedience by fines and imprisonment. The Separatists had few noble or rich men in their number; therefore they were not influential. But they believed devoutly that right was on their side, and for ten years they continued to leave the country rather than submit to the laws of the Church of England.

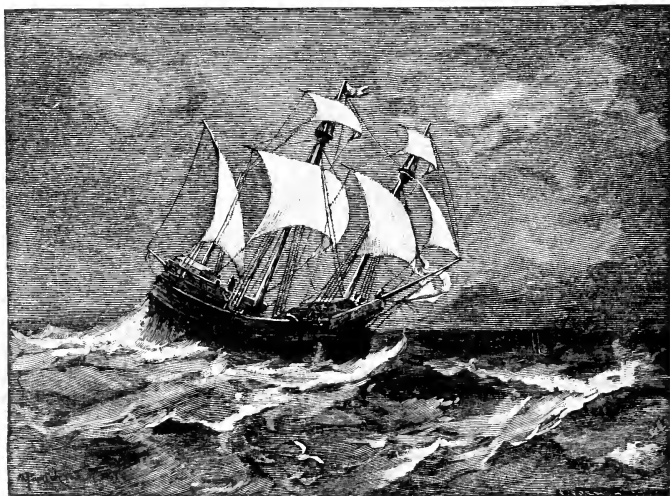
The Separatists in Holland.—In Holland they were among a crowded people, speaking a different language and having different manners. As their children grew up, it became clear to the parents that they would learn the Dutch language, marry, settle in Holland, and cease to be English. The wiser among them looked earnestly, therefore, for some country where they could keep their English ways. This was especially needful since a truce of twelve years between Spain and Holland was drawing to an end and war might soon break out. They could not go to Jamestown, because the Church of England ruled there; so their friends in England formed a company and agreed to send them to the northern part of the territory claimed by the London Company.

34. The Pilgrims.—A part of the Separatists set out first, to prepare the way. They sailed in the *Speedwell* from Delft Haven, in Holland, to Southampton, in England. There they were joined by the *Mayflower*; but after putting out to sea, the *Speedwell* was found to be unsafe, and they turned back to the harbor of Plymouth. Here they decided to abandon the *Speedwell*. A few gave up going altogether, and the rest, a hundred and two¹ in number, crowded with their goods into the little *Mayflower*. They tried to reach the Jersey coast, but were driven out of their course by storms; at last they cast anchor in the harbor of what is now Provincetown, at the end of Cape Cod.

As soon as they had landed, they fell upon their knees and

¹ One died on the voyage, and a child, Oceanus Hopkins, was born; so that the number remained the same.

blessed God for having brought them safe across the ocean. And since they had been moved chiefly by religious reasons, and had wandered far from their first home, these men and women have come to be known in history as the Pilgrims. The spot on which they had landed was not suitable for a settlement, especially as there was no good water to be had. Parties were sent out to explore the coast and the bay.



The Mayflower.

Landing of the Pilgrims. — The reports which they brought back led the whole company to return to the Mayflower, and sail across the bay to a sheltered harbor, where they cast anchor. They were pleased to find a brook of pure water which flowed down a hillside opposite the harbor; and there were fields which had been cleared by the Indians for planting. The place had been marked Plymouth on a map which Captain John Smith¹ had made of the coast; that was the name, too,

¹ Smith had offered to go with the Pilgrims and help them settle in America, but they declined his offer.

of the last place they had left in England, where they had many friends. Plymouth, therefore, was the name they gave to the settlement now formed. A large rock, the only one in the neighborhood, is pointed out as the spot upon which the exploring party that discovered the place is said to have landed. The twenty-second day of December is observed as the Landing of the Pilgrims, although the Mayflower did not arrive till five days later. The year of the landing was 1620.

35. The Plymouth Settlement. — While the Mayflower lay in Provincetown harbor the Pilgrims signed a compact¹ for government, for they supposed themselves in a region not held by any English company. By this compact they agreed to stand by one another, and to obey the laws which they might make for the rule of the colony. Not much government was required, for nearly all were of one mind. They were chiefly anxious to have among them those of the same faith; for they had braved the seas because they hoped in this new land to keep what they valued most,—their religion.

During the first winter some of the Pilgrims lived in the rude huts which they had built, and some remained on board the Mayflower. Half of the company died before the winter was over. Although they had suffered so much, not one went back to England when the Mayflower sailed in April. New companies were sent out from England to Plymouth and its neighborhood, but all were not of the same spirit as the Pilgrims. Since Plymouth proved to be in a part of the country held by the Plymouth Company, the colonists came under the control of that company, but it granted them the right to some self-government.

They had at first much fear lest the savages should molest them, and they looked for military guidance to one of their number, a short, thickset man, Captain Miles Standish,² who had seen fighting in the war between Holland and Spain. But

¹ This compact is considered very important in American history because it shows the crude beginning of constitution making.

² Longfellow wrote a famous poem called *The Courtship of Miles Standish*.

there had been a plague not long before which had swept away most of the Indians in the neighborhood, and those who remained were, for the most part, disposed to be friendly.¹

36. The Puritans.—The Pilgrims kept up a connection with their friends in England, and their settlement in America caused much interest among those Englishmen who were known as Puritans. These were so nicknamed because they claimed to be seeking purer church ways; but they were still members of the Church of England. Unlike the Separatists, they formed a political as well as religious party, and they stood for government by law through Parliament against government by the will of the king.

A crisis came when King Charles I. dissolved Parliament. He meant to rule in his own name, and most of the bishops of the Church were on his side. The Puritans were
 1629. greatly alarmed. They thought that there would be no civil liberty in England when the king ruled without consulting Parliament. They feared that the bishops would lead the people back to the Church of Rome. A great many wished to escape from England, and they began to think of the country beyond the seas as a place of refuge. The old England was going to ruin; they would set up a new England there. If liberty was in danger in England, they would give liberty a new home.

A trading company had just been formed, under the title of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." It was composed of Puritans, and had a charter from King Charles giving a territory described as

¹ There is an interesting series of historical romances dealing with the life of the Plymouth colony, written by Jane Goodwin Austin. The first is called *Standish of Standish*. Goodwin's *The Pilgrim Republic* is a comprehensive account. The most thorough condensed study of the Pilgrims is Arber's *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*. The most famous contemporary work is Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*. A readable portion of this is easily accessible in No. 3 of *Historical Classic Readings*. Governor Bradford sent home a narrative of the colony in 1622, but some Frenchmen captured the little vessel *Fortune*, which sailed between the colony and England, and carried off the narrative.

extending from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean, and from three miles above the Merrimac River to three miles below the Charles, and their branches. The members could make laws for the government of the territory, but these laws must not oppose the laws of England.

37. The Migration of the Puritans. — There was nothing novel in such a charter. Other companies had been formed before and had received similar charters. But the company, after the king dissolved Parliament, was suddenly enlarged. Many English gentlemen of education and rank sold their property in England and joined the company. The most conspicuous of them was John Winthrop, a gentleman from Groton, in Suffolk County, a part of England where there were many Puritans. He was chosen governor of the company.¹

They determined to go over to America, carry the charter with them, and take possession themselves of the territory belonging to the company. This was a bold step. Before, the company in England had sent out colonists, and had managed the affairs of the colony in London. The king and his court were close at hand to interfere. Now, the company would itself be in America, at a distance from the king, and managing its own affairs on the spot.

In the spring of 1630 not far from a thousand persons left England and sailed for the shores of Massachusetts Bay. They went first to Salem, for it was Puritans who had founded that place. But the settlers advised them to seek a place near the head of the bay. They went accordingly to what is now Charlestown. Then the most of them crossed the Charles River to a peninsula. It could be easily defended; it had good springs of water, and before it lay a wide harbor. Since their chief minister, John Cotton, came from Boston in England, and many others from its neighborhood, that name was given to the place. Others who came from Dorchester in England gave that name to a place near by. The English very often gave the names of their old homes to new settle-

¹ See his life by J. Twichell.

ments in America, just as in western States to-day we find names of towns copied from those in the East from which their first settlers came.



John Winthrop. Born 1587; died 1649.

38. The Settlement at Boston. — The peninsula of Boston was at that time connected with the mainland by a narrow neck over which the sea would wash. This peninsula was uneven in surface, having high hills and marshy hollows, and was bare of wood. No Indians lived upon it, and there were very

few signs of any Indians in the neighborhood. Three or four Englishmen only had made clearings about the lower bay. The people who took possession of this territory had come to stay, and did not mean to be dependent upon England. All, from the governor down, applied themselves to some useful occupation.

They began at once to cultivate the land, both on the peninsula and in the farms which they laid out in the surrounding country. Since the colony was by the water side, the business of fishing early became important. Within a year shipbuilding began. The governor built a bark of thirty tons' burden, called the *Blessing of the Bay*. Soon a fleet of vessels, large and small, built in the colony, were sailing out of Boston and Salem harbors, and smaller ports, to Virginia and Bermuda, and across the ocean to England.

39. The Beginnings of Massachusetts. — While this bustling life was adding strength and wealth to the colony, the people were showing in other ways that they intended to establish a State. They set up schools for their children, and they laid the foundation of a college, which has grown 1636. into the prosperous Harvard University.

In England the Puritans had tried to strip the Church of all forms and ceremonies which seemed to them to make it like the Church of Rome. Thus it was easy for them, when they came to America and were left to themselves, to carry out their ideas. They formed churches upon the plan of a mutual covenant or agreement, and chose their own pastors and teachers; in this they were influenced by the Pilgrims. The Puritans in England had also been unwilling that the king should have the power to rule the people without giving them a voice in the government. In Massachusetts they meant to manage their own affairs; and they agreed that none should vote but those who were members of the churches which they formed.

As the number of inhabitants in the colony increased, and towns were established at distances from one another, it became impossible for all the voters in the colony to meet together.

Thus it came about that the voters in each town chose persons to represent them at a General Court of the whole colony which met in Boston. For ten years the colony grew rapidly. Within those years about twenty thousand persons crossed the Atlantic to New England. It was the first great migration of Englishmen, and it was mainly a migration of Puritans.¹

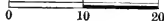
40. The Settling of Connecticut.—It was not long before the settlers began to push into the interior. The Blessing of the Bay made a cruise in Long Island Sound, and came back with reports of the Connecticut River. Some people of
1633. Plymouth who heard of the richness of the river valley made a settlement on its banks at what is now Windsor.

The Dutch from New Amsterdam had already built a fort and trading post six miles below, at the place where Hartford now stands; their purpose was to get furs from the Indians. Then a number of people from towns in the neighborhood of Boston moved to the same river, with all their goods and cattle. A whole church with its minister went through the woods into the new country; and three towns were formed,—Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. In 1637 these towns united to form a General Court for the government of the colony of Connecticut.

Saybrook and New Haven.—Meanwhile a patent had been given to two English noblemen, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brook. This patent gave them the land bordering upon the Connecticut River; and in 1635 John Winthrop, son of the Governor of Massachusetts, came from England with a colony to take possession. He drove the Dutch away from the mouth of the river, where they built a fort, and he planted there the town of Saybrook. Another colony of English Puritans was established at
1638. New Haven. It bought its land from the Indians. Thus there were three colonies within the borders of what is now the State of Connecticut. Saybrook afterward

¹ In my *Boston Town* will be found a detailed narrative of the early life in Massachusetts. No. 8 of Higginson's *Young Folks' Series* comprises *The Pilgrims at Plymouth* and *The Massachusetts Bay Company*.

SCALE OF MILES



SMITH'S IS. OR
ISLES OF SHOALS

Cape Cod
First Anchorage
of the
Mayflower.
CAPE COD
BAY

CUTTYHUNK MARTHA'S VINEYARD I.

became a part of the Connecticut colony, which had its seat of government at Hartford.

41. The Beginning of Rhode Island. — Rhode Island was formed partly by colonists from Massachusetts Bay and partly by companies from England. But the colonists from Massachusetts Bay did not go to Rhode Island of their own will. They differed from the rulers at Boston, and were compelled to find some other home. They went to Narragansett Bay, which was claimed by the other colonies.

The Puritans had come to Massachusetts Bay to be free from the Church of England and to govern themselves. But they were not all of the same way of thinking; hence the leaders took alarm. They thought the colony was in danger from those who differed from them in religious views; and they either banished them or made it too uncomfortable for them to stay. A minister named Roger Williams said, for one thing, that the magistrates ought not to declare what a man's religion should be; what seemed to them more dangerous was his assertion that the Massachusetts people had no true title to the land they had bought of the Indians. The magistrates said that Williams was a source of peril, and they drove him out of the colony. He went to the wilderness, where he was befriended by the Indians. At last, 1636. with five companions, he made his home at a place which he called Providence, because God had provided for him.

In 1638 and the year following, settlements were made at Portsmouth and Newport on the island of Rhode Island, and other towns sprang up. These various settlements sent Roger Williams to England to obtain a charter for the government.

It was full of his ideas, and gave the people great 1663. freedom, especially in religious matters. The settlements were constantly troubled by the Massachusetts and Plymouth people in regard to boundaries, and Massachusetts tried to bring the colony under her rule.

42. Maine and New Hampshire. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges, a man of great ambition, who had dreams of founding a great

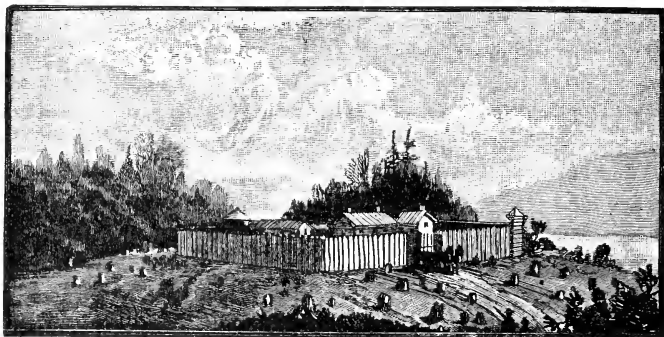
kingdom in America, obtained a grant of land in New England. He began settlements at Portsmouth and Dover, and in 1623 joined with him Captain John Mason. Seven years later, Saco and Biddeford were founded. Immediately after this, Gorges and Mason divided their claims. Gorges took the country to the east of the Piscataqua River. Mason took the remainder of the grant and named it New Hampshire, because at the time he held high office in the county of Hampshire in England. Mason died, and the settlements in New Hampshire were left to themselves. Other people came from Massachusetts, and for a while the towns were under the rule of that colony. The little fishing villages in Maine were also left much to themselves, for Gorges never came over to look after his estate.

43. The Treatment of the Indians by the English. — As the colonies increased in number, and sent out their members farther and farther into the wilderness, the Indian saw that the land over which he had freely roamed was closing against him. He saw it was impossible to live by hunting where the white man was tilling the soil. The English showed little wisdom in their treatment of the Indians. They disliked them for their savage ways. They could not understand them, and tried to make them obey laws which it was impossible for an Indian to understand. They thought they might make servants of the Indians; but this was like taming wild animals.

Attempts at Christianizing the Indians. — The Puritans, indeed, regarded the Indians as heathen. Many treated them harshly, and wished them out of the way. A few sought to make Christians of them; and one holy man in particular, the Rev. John Eliot, was so faithful in his efforts for them that he came to be known as the Apostle to the Indians. He translated the Bible into the Indian tongue as well as various religious books and sermons. A hall for Indians even was built in connection with Harvard College. There were few Indians, however, who would give up their wild ways. The rest hovered about the English settlements,

or retreated into the woods and talked over schemes for riding the country of the newcomers. Both in New England and in New Netherland the whites and the Indians began to irritate each other more and more.

44. Indian Wars. — Those settlers who lived outside of Boston and the few seaport villages built palisades about their houses and farm buildings. A group of buildings thus protected was called a stockade. Sometimes they made the houses themselves into rude forts, in which they could defend themselves in case of need. All the towns and villages had train-



A Stockade.

bands, — companies of men ready to march at a moment's notice. In any fight with the Indians the whites at first had the advantage of firearms; but the Indians soon learned the use of these. The English forbade the sale of arms to the Indians, but the Dutch traders sold them freely. The Indians, however, depended chiefly upon their tomahawks when they suddenly appeared from the woods and attacked farms and villages.

The Pequot War. — The first severe war with the Indians began in 1636, and is known as the Pequot War. The Pequots were a fierce tribe living in the eastern part of what is now Connecticut. The English showed little mercy in this war and

almost utterly destroyed the Pequot tribe. The punishment was so severe that it was many years before another Indian war broke out. But the Indian hate was deepened.

The United Colonies of New England. — An important effect of the war upon the New England colonies was to cause them to seek a close union. In the peril, each had helped the other. Connecticut and New Haven were especially anxious to have such a league because they were most exposed to danger from the Dutch and the Indians. They were willing to admit Rhode Island; but Massachusetts would not consent to that — she would not admit into such a league people whom she had driven out from her borders. The league, finally, was formed in 1643. It was called the United Colonies of New England, and embraced Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut. It was not proposed to unite these colonies under one government. Each was to continue independent; but they formed the league for mutual advice and aid.¹

45. The Puritan Commonwealth in England. — One of the reasons which the people of New England gave for forming a closer union among themselves was the condition of England itself. That country was “distracted,” and the colonies in New England declared that they must trust more to themselves and less to the mother country. The conflict between the king and Parliament had become open war, and with the war emigration to America ceased. There was so much excitement in England, and the Puritan party 1642. was coming to have so much power, that few wished to go to the new land.

The war between the king and Parliament continued for seven years, when King Charles I. was tried and executed. England was now declared to be a Commonwealth. The people were to rule through their representatives in Parliament, and Oliver Cromwell became chief magistrate, with the title of Lord Protector. Although this success of the Puri-

¹ See *The Articles of Confederation of the United Colonies of New England* in No. 7, *American History Leaflets*.

tans in England was welcome to their friends in New England, great care was taken by the colonies not to join either party openly. They had been really governing themselves, and they wished to keep clear of the control of England, whether that control was exercised by the king or by Parliament.

46. The Navigation Acts. — The laws which Parliament made for the regulation of trade were of great importance to America.

1651. The first of a series of acts, called the Navigation Acts, was now passed. It declared that no goods should be carried to the colonies or brought from them except in English ships. This act was followed by others forbidding the colonies to send their products to any ports except such as belonged to England. These laws were intended to increase the shipping and benefit the merchants of England; for it was commonly held in those days that colonies existed chiefly for the benefit of the mother country.

European Rivalries. — One effect of these laws was to make ill feeling between England and other commercial countries of Europe. Holland was the great rival of England, and war

broke out between the two countries, which ended in **1655.** breaking down Holland. England also went to war with Spain, and took from her the island of Jamaica, which she still holds. The Puritan Commonwealth of England did not last after Cromwell's death. The monarchy was restored, and

King Charles II. came to the throne. The Navigation Acts, however, and other laws which Cromwell's Parliament had made, continued to be the law of the land; and the country sought to get rich through its colonies.

47. The Conflict between the English and the Dutch in America. — There had always been a dispute as to the first discovery of the coast of New Netherland. The king took advantage of this dispute to set up his claim; and he made a formal deed of all the country between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers to his brother, the Duke of York. The New England colonies were well pleased at this. They had been crowding the Dutch

out of Connecticut, and had been claiming one piece of land after another. They were quite ready, therefore, to take sides with the king when he sent an English fleet across the Atlantic and took possession of New Netherland.

The Dutch were in no position to resist. The governor, Peter Stuyvesant, a brave man, urged his countrymen to stand by him and attack the fleet; but it was a hopeless endeavor. The English set up the king's standard, 1664. changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York, and that of Fort Orange to Albany. This act and others similar to it on the coast of Africa led to another war with Holland. During the war New York for a short time 1673, was again under Dutch rule. But at the end of the 1674. war New Netherland was ceded to England.¹

48. King Philip's War.—And now a sudden and terrible blow fell upon New England. An Indian chieftain, named Philip, who was much above the common Indians in character and power of mind, brooded over the wrongs which his race had suffered from the strangers. He formed the purpose of uniting all the Indians into one body and sweeping the English from the country. His plans were laid with great skill, and for more than a year the war raged, carrying 1675. desolation through the country. Almost every man who could handle a musket took part in the war, which came to an end when Philip was killed near Mt. Hope, Rhode Island.

The population of Massachusetts at the time was about twenty-five thousand, and it was estimated that a tenth of the fighting men of the colony had been killed. This war, called King Philip's War, was the last conflict with the Indians in the settled parts of New England. The tribes were broken up; many Indians were miserably sold into slavery in the West Indies; others fled farther west. The Christian or Praying

¹ An entertaining account of early New York, in a half-burlesque form, is *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, by Washington Irving. A very good historical novel of the period is *The Begum's Daughter*, by E. L. Bynner.

Indians, as they were called, had saved the lives of many of the people.

49. The Loss of the Charters. — While the war lasted, the colonies were bound together by the common peril. When the war was over, each colony found itself weak, through loss of men and money. The confederation had gradually failed in authority, and in each colony there were divisions and parties. Every year it became more difficult to keep unbroken the early Puritan plan of a religious state. In Massachusetts the government was obliged to yield to the king's demand, and give men who were not members of the Church a right to vote. Complaint was made to the king that Massachusetts was coining money, — the right to do which belonged to the king alone.



Pine-Tree Shilling.

At last the king lost patience; the courts declared the charter of Massachusetts void. Henceforth the king would rule the colony himself, through a council and president whom he would appoint. There was to be no General Court.

1684.

The people were to have no voice in the government. It was the act of Charles II.; but just as it was announced, he died, and left the throne to his brother, James II. This king regarded all the northern colonies as a part of the possession of the crown. He claimed all the land as his; he was to make all the laws and lay all the taxes, without asking any one's consent. Accordingly, he sent over Sir Edmund Andros

1686.

to be governor of the Province of New England and New York. All the separate charters were to be revoked. The separate colonial governments were to be abolished where they interfered with the authority of Andros.

A murmur arose throughout the country. For more than fifty years the people had been governing themselves; now they were bidden to give up this right. In Hartford the colonial government met to deliver up the charter. It was

evening, and the charter lay on the table. Suddenly the candles were blown out. When they were relighted, the charter had disappeared. One of the members had carried it off; and the story is that he hid it in the hollow trunk of the oak which long stood, and bore the name of the Charter Oak.

50. William and Mary. — Sir Edmund Andros was using in New England the despotic power which his master, King James II., was using in England. But in neither country was liberty dead. In England the king was driven from his



The Charter Oak.

throne. By a bloodless revolution, William, Prince of Orange, the grandson of Charles I., and Mary, his wife, the eldest daughter of James II., were called to rule in 1688. his stead; Parliament, which James had closed, again sat and made laws.

In New England rumors came of these changes. Before the overthrow of King James was positively known, the people of Boston rose, seized the king's officers, shut up the governor in a fort, and took possession of the govern- 1689. ment. Shortly after, the tidings came that William and Mary were King and Queen of England. The several colonies of

New England again governed themselves under new charters. The governors of Massachusetts and for a time those of New Hampshire, indeed, were appointed by the crown, and the officers of the revenue were the king's officers. The towns elected representatives to the different assemblies, and made their own laws; but these were not to oppose the laws of England.¹

¹ Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair* is a pleasant series of sketches of early New England.

QUESTIONS.

Who was England's first discoverer of America? What routes were successively tried by English sailors making their way toward India? Who was the first Englishman to visit California? What great queen ruled England? What part of North America did Raleigh seek to colonize? Tell the experience he had in his attempt. Where, in America, is his name preserved? Narrate Gosnold's voyage. What was the formation of the Virginia Company, and how was it divided? When and where was the first permanent settlement, by Englishmen in America, made? What members of the royal family of that date have their names preserved in Virginia? What is the origin of the name Newport News? Describe the beginning of the colony. What relation did the early Virginians have with the natives? Tell the story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas. What did the English company expect of their colony in Virginia? What production of the soil gave prosperity to the country?

Who were the Separatists? Where did they go first? Why did they go? What induced them again to leave their new home? Give an account of their adventures before they finally established a home. What is the name by which the settlers in Plymouth are known? What English explorer had been before them, and drawn a map of the coast? What was the government of the colony? Describe the experience of the first colonists. Who was their first captain? What was the difference between the Pilgrims and the Puritans? Narrate the political conditions of England which led to a migration of the Puritans. What was the nature of the company formed? How did their action with regard to the charter differ from that of other colonists? Who was the first governor? How large a company came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630? Where were the first settlements made? What led to the chief settlement being made in Boston? Describe the mode of life in the first years of the colony. What signs did the people give of their interest in education and religion?

What constituted the right to vote? Describe the government of the colony.

From what three sources was Connecticut first settled? Name the origin of Saybrook. What led to the first settlement in Rhode Island? Who was Roger Williams? What was his relation to the Indians? How did Providence get its name? What special service did Roger Williams render Rhode Island? Give an account of Mason and Gorges, and the settlements made by them. How did the English and Indians get along together? Who translated the Bible into an Indian language? Who were the Pequots? What was the result of the war? What was the league of 1643? Was this the beginning of a union of the colonies?

When did the civil war in England break out? What were the people fighting for? How did the quarrel end? Why did not the people of New England take part in the war? What were the Navigation Acts? What wars followed? What claim was made by Charles II.? Why did the Dutch call their territory New Netherland? the town, New Amsterdam? the settlement, Fort Orange? What changes were made by the English?

What is said of Philip? What plan did he form? How did the war begin, and what was the result? What change took place in the Massachusetts colony? What was the "pine-tree shilling"? What did the king determine to do? Who was sent over to rule New York and New England in the king's name? What is the story of the Charter Oak? When James II. was dethroned, what happened? What relation was William to Mary?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What is the name of the legislature of Massachusetts to-day? What title is given to the legislature of Virginia, and why? Can you name any State in the United States which calls itself a commonwealth? How many such States are there? Did any of the persons who tried King Charles I. come to America? What were they called, and what became of them? What families in Virginia trace their descent from Pocahontas? Who was the first child born to the Pilgrims after their landing at Plymouth?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

An account of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* in its wanderings to England and back.

The finding of the letter sent home by Bradford, and what it contained.

Imaginary letter from a passenger in the Mayflower telling of the voyage.

The difference between the Pilgrim and the Puritan.

Contrast Boston of to-day with Boston of 1636.

The treatment of the Indian by the Spaniard, the Frenchman, and the Englishman.

The hiding of the charter in Charter Oak.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That the honor of discovering America belongs more to Cabot than to Columbus.

Resolved, That the discovery of tobacco was an evil.

Resolved, That the Massachusetts colony acted prudently in banishing Roger Williams.

Resolved, That there was more bravery in the days of the bow and arrow than in these days of rifle and cannon.

Resolved, That the treatment of the Indians by the Puritans brought about King Philip's War.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA. II.

Dissen'ters. The name applied in England to those who dissented or separated from the Church of England.

Děp'ŭty. A deputy acts in the place of the regular officer when that officer cannot be present.

Schuyllkill (skōōl'kīl). A name given by the Dutch. *Kill*, which frequently is found in the ending of names in New York, as Catskill, Peekskill, means "creek." *Schuyll* finds its nearest English word in "skulk";

and *Schuyllkill* means thus, "hidden creek."

Lenni Lenape (lěnn'ńĩ lěnn-ă'pă) = original men.

Căl'vert.

Cecil (sēs'īl).

Leonard (lěnn'ard)

Susquehanna (sŭs'kwe-hănn'ă).

Annap'olis, i.e. Ann's town.

Albemarle (ăl'bě-mărl).

Barbadoes (bar-bă'dōz).

Ōg'lethorpe.

Whitefield (whīt'field).

Frederica (frěd'ēr-ē'kă).

Altamaha (ăl'tă-mă-hă').

51. George Fox and the Quakers.—When the Puritans were coming into power in England, a man named George Fox went about the country, preaching to the people. He interrupted the preacher in the pulpit and the magistrate on the bench. He rebuked them for their sins. He spoke like one of the ancient prophets, and was without fear of man. He taught that there was no church except in the meeting together of friends, who spoke as each thought himself or herself moved by the spirit of God. Thus there would be no bishops, or priests; no taxes for their support, and no sacraments. The only law was to be the law of love in their hearts.

He taught, also, that there was no difference between men in rank; and thus he would not take off his hat to another,—no, not if it were Cromwell himself, because that would be a sign that he was a servant of Cromwell. Neither would he

call any man by a title. Other men might address Cromwell as "Your Highness"; he would use the plain "Oliver." In like manner he dressed himself with great plainness. He would not, by his clothes, seem to be richer or greater than other men. Since each man was to do what was right, as God might tell him, it would be wrong to force any one to obey; and that would make an end of all wars, and armies, and prisons.

Friends and Quakers.—These doctrines seemed to many like light let in upon the confusion of the time. They declared that Fox was right, and began to adopt his way of dress and speech. They called themselves Friends; but others called them Quakers, because, in his preaching, Fox was wont to bid the people quake and tremble at the word of God.

Persecution of the Friends.—Neither the Church-of-England nor the Dissenters could tolerate the Friends. If the Friends were right, they were all wrong; and so they persecuted Fox and his associates, shutting them up in prison, or driving them from the country. When the Friends came to New England, the magistrates and ministers imprisoned them, beat them, drove them away, and even hanged some of them. The more the Friends were persecuted, the more their number grew, and the more determined were they to bear witness to the truth. They never resisted the force which was used against them, and they constantly put themselves in the way of punishment. Wherever they believed the Lord sent them to preach their doctrines, thither they went fearlessly.

52. William Penn.—It was not poor and plain people alone who were Friends. Some were rich. Indeed, the very lives which the Friends led—lives of temperance and moderation and industry—kept them from being poor. Some even were of high rank; and among these the most notable was William Penn. He was the son of an admiral in the English navy, and his early life was spent among noblemen, and at court. But he became a convert to the doctrines of the Friends.

He adopted their dress and ways, spoke in their meetings, and used his pen in their defense. Like Fox and others, he



William Penn. Born 1644 ; died 17¹⁸.

was fined and imprisoned. He was, however, a rich man, for his father had died and left him a great estate. He had many friends at court and in places of power. Thus he was of more importance than most Quakers, and not so easily persecuted. He was, besides, very wise in his dealings with others, and, being very generous, he constantly befriended his poorer brethren.

53. New Jersey.—An opportunity occurred by which he became interested in affairs in America. When the Duke of York took possession of New Netherland, he gave the southern district to two Englishmen, who named it New Jersey, since one of them had defended the island of Jersey, in the English Channel, in a recent war. A number of people, both from New England and from England, settled there. Among them were some Quakers. Two of these, large landowners, had a dispute and agreed to lay the matter before William Penn. Penn settled the dispute, and when one of the parties got into debt, he bought out his rights, in company with other creditors.

The Occupation of New Jersey.—The result of this purchase was that West New Jersey, or West Jersey, as it was commonly called, came into the hands of Penn and a few other influential Friends. In 1677 they began to send out colonies of Friends to occupy it. The colonists landed at Newcastle on the Delaware, moved up the river, and made their first settlement at Burlington. Five years later, when

1682. new difficulties arose, the West Jersey proprietors bought the territory of East Jersey.

New Jersey and New York.—But when the King of England withdrew the charter from New England, and sent Sir Edmund Andros to be governor of New England and New

York, he took possession of New Jersey also. In 1688. 1702 New Jersey and New York were formed into one province, under one governor, although each colony had

its own assembly. This continued for thirty-six 1738. years, when New Jersey was separated from New York, and had its own governor.

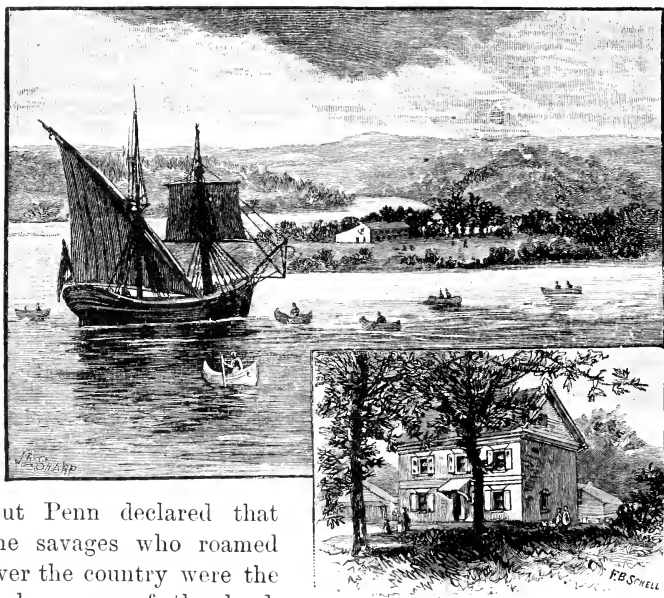
54. The Founding of Pennsylvania. — When William Penn inherited his father's estate, he came into possession of a claim for a large sum of money which his father held against the crown. Penn proposed to the government that he should be paid, not in money, but in a grant of land in America. He intended to send there colonies of Friends. The English colonies in America were all having difficulties with the Indians, and some members of the government looked with great contempt upon the proposal to send out these non-resisting Quakers to face the savage Indians. But Penn prevailed and obtained a charter and a large tract of land. This 1681. tract consisted of forty thousand square miles lying west of the Delaware for five degrees of longitude, and extending north and south for three degrees of latitude. Penn wished to call it Sylvania, or Woodland; but the king insisted on calling it Pennsylvania, in honor of Penn's father.

Immigration invited. — The owner of this vast farm at once set about his experiments in government. He invited the aid of all who were ready to work with him. He offered to sell portions of his land to families who should emigrate, and he advertised his purpose far and wide. He was known beyond the borders of England; and, among others, a company of Germans bought a large tract. One of their first settlements was called Germantown. The Friends could only preach their doctrines in England. Here they meant to put them all in practice.

Penn declared that every peaceful citizen was to be free to come and go, to worship God as he thought right, and to have a part in making the laws. When a person was tried for an offense, he was to be tried by a jury; and if the offender were an Indian, he was to have six of his race on the jury. There was to be no punishment by death except for murder or treason. Lying was to be punished. As far as possible, disputes were to be settled by laying the matter before friends, and not by going into a court of justice.

The Rights of Indians. — Penn meant himself to live there and manage his great property. He was to be governor, with

the right to appoint a deputy governor. But the people were to choose delegates to an Assembly and Council. The rights of Indians were to be respected; and they had, Penn said, rights to the land. King Charles had granted Pennsylvania to Penn. In return he was to give the king each year two beaver skins, and one fifth of all the gold and silver that was mined.



But Penn declared that the savages who roamed over the country were the real owners of the land, and he meant to pay them also.



Philadelphia, 1682, with Penn's House.

The Dutch and Swedes.—In 1681 three vessels left England with emigrants who were the first to take advantage of Penn's offer. The next year Penn himself sailed to his new estate in the ship *Welcome*. One hundred Friends were with him, nearly all of whom were old neighbors. They sailed up the Delaware and landed at Newcastle, October 27, 1682. Penn confirmed the titles of the Dutch and Swede settlers to land

and office, and adopted them into his colony. Then he went up the river to Upland, now Chester, and there held his first Assembly. He expected to make this place the site of his chief town, but, going farther up the river, he found a more convenient spot.

Philadelphia. — There was a broad tongue of land lying between two rivers, the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Upon this plain Penn laid out Philadelphia in broad squares, shaded by trees, and ordered a house built for his own use. The town, as first laid out, extended from river to river, and was between what are now Vine and South streets.



Treaty Elm in 1800.

55. Treaties with the Indians. — For two years Penn remained in the country, to look after his colony. His special business was to make friends with the Indians. A monument in Philadelphia marks the spot called by the Indians Shackamaxon, where, under a spreading elm, Penn is said to have made a formal treaty with the Indians. By this treaty he paid them for the land which he had taken, and made them presents. Neither Penn nor his companions carried any weapons, and the Indians laid aside their arms. It was a treaty of peace, and was honorably kept on both sides for sixty years.

The Lenni Lenape. — The Indians of that region were the Delawares, or the Lenni Lenape, as they called themselves. They had recently been conquered by the savage Iroquois, and compelled by Indian usage to bear the name of “women,” and to surrender their tomahawks. Now the Iroquois, as we have seen, were enemies of the French and friends of the English, so that the Delawares did not dare offend their neighbors. The Friends, on their side, by their peaceful ways and honest dealings, were able to live in harmony with the red men.

The country about Philadelphia was exceedingly fertile. This fact, with the wise laws and liberal policy of Penn, made the colony very popular; so that when Penn returned to Eng-

1684. land fifty townships had been settled, and Philadelphia had between three hundred and four hundred houses. In 1703 the people occupying the district known as the Territories and comprising what is now known as Delaware, separated from Pennsylvania, and had their own Assembly. The two colonies had, however, the same governor.

56. The Calverts. — At the time when the Puritans were flocking to Massachusetts Bay to escape from evils in England, England was scarcely a more comfortable place for Roman Catholics, who were feared by some and hated by others. One of their number, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, determined to plant a colony in America which should serve as a refuge for his brethren.

Experimental Voyages. — He tried Newfoundland, which had been described by voyagers as a fertile and beautiful land, but he found the country bleak, and sailed farther south to

1623. Virginia. The Assembly was sitting at Jamestown when he arrived, but it did not welcome him though he had been an influential member of the Virginia company; for in Virginia, as in England, Puritans and Roman Catholics were equally disliked. He sailed up Chesapeake Bay, and was so delighted with the country that he resolved to plant his colony there.

Founding of Maryland.—King Charles I. granted him and his heirs a charter, in 1632, with authority to occupy what is now Maryland and part of Delaware. The name "Maryland" was given by the king in honor of his wife Henrietta Maria. The Baltimores were to rule there much as the king rules in England, with an assembly like Parliament. The laws were to agree with the laws of England, and nothing was to be done offensive to the Church of England. George Calvert died while the charter was in the king's hands; but his son Cecil succeeded him, and carried out his plans.

In the autumn of 1633 Cecil sent out, under his brother Leonard, the first company, of about three hundred people, who made a settlement, called St. Mary's, near the mouth of the Potomac River. The many names of places in Maryland beginning with "Saint"



Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

attest the large element of religion which entered into the settlement. Indeed, the zealous priests who accompanied the settlers looked upon the country as the land of the Virgin Mary.

Religious Toleration.—The Calverts were wise and far-sighted men. They wished to have a prosperous and peaceful colony, and they knew this could not be if they favored one religious party above another. They sent out both Protestants and Roman Catholics, and they caused laws to be passed for-

bidding persecution for religious faith. Quakers, even, were to have all the rights of other Englishmen. When Puritans in Virginia were vexed by the harsh governor, Sir William Berkeley, they found a hospitable refuge in Maryland.

The colony contained many who sustained the Calverts in their policy, and the governor was careful not to offend the ruling powers in England. When Cromwell was in
1649. power, Lord Baltimore appointed a Puritan governor, William Stone.

57. The mode of life in Maryland was similar to that in Virginia. There were large plantations upon which tobacco was grown. Whatever the planter needed, beyond food and shelter, was brought from England. But after the beginning of 1700 the people began also to raise wheat like their northern neighbors. The country at the back of the seacoast was more suited to grain than to tobacco, and tobacco impoverished the soil very fast. Then the Susquehanna River offered a natural waterway from Pennsylvania; so commerce sprang up.

Towns in the Colony. — There was a greater variety of occupations and trades, and towns began to be formed. Providence was the name of a settlement which was the center of the Puritan population. Afterward, when for twenty-four
1695. years Maryland was under royal government, the name was changed to Annapolis and the place made the capital. In 1729 Baltimore was founded, and speedily became one of the most important towns in the country.

The Boundaries of Maryland were long a matter of dispute. The Dutch and Swedes had upon the Delaware River settlements which belonged to Maryland by the charter given to Calvert. When the Dutch lost New Netherland, they lost also this part of their territory. Then Penn claimed the same portion under his charter, and afterward Delaware was set off as a separate colony. It was not until 1760 that the boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania was settled, and a careful survey begun. The northern boundary line of Mary-

land has ever since been known, from its surveyors, as Mason and Dixon's Line.¹

58. The Government of Virginia. — When Virginia held its first Assembly, the colony was still under the government of the London Company for Virginia. That company was composed largely of Englishmen who opposed the king. As they demanded a free Parliament for England, so they insisted that Virginia should have its regular Assembly. One result of the conflict going on in England was an impetus given to the colonization of Virginia, which was looked upon as a refuge from an oppressive government at home. 1619.

In the struggle which followed, the king took away the charter from the company, and after that he himself appointed the governor of Virginia. But since the colony still had its Assembly, it was better off than before. The company, when the colony was fairly established, was more likely to be a hindrance than a help. No body of men, however upright, could govern wisely a growing colony across the ocean. 1624.

59. Plantation Life. — Virginia was growing rapidly. The settlements were at first confined to the peninsula between the James and the York. Here the planters lived in comfort in roomy houses, surrounded, for protection against the Indians, by palisades. Their chief business was to raise tobacco to send to London; for this they employed indented servants and African slaves. The indented servants were men and boys sent out from England by the company. They were bound out to the planters for a term of years to repay the expense of their passage. In 1619 twenty African slaves were brought into the colony; thirty years later, there were three hundred.

There were no large towns in Virginia. Each planter had his estate, and lived there as English gentlemen lived in England. He had a warehouse in which he stored his tobacco, and a wharf to which once a year a ship came to be loaded.

¹ *Rob of the Bowl*, by J. P. Kennedy, gives pictures of early Maryland life.

The ship carried tobacco to London, and brought back whatever the planter needed. Not only was tobacco the staple product of the country, it served as currency in mercantile transactions. The planters kept their accounts in it; salaries and taxes were paid with it. The chief value of Virginia, in the eyes of England, was that she could furnish the mother country with tobacco.

60. English Parties in Virginia. — Unlike the people of New England, the planters of Virginia were mostly Church-of-England men, and partisans of the king. When Charles I.

1649. was executed, great numbers of his friends came over to Virginia and began life again there. Yet there were many also in the colony who sympathized with Cromwell and the Commonwealth; some of these had come to Virginia from New England. Living as these Englishmen did, each on his separate estate, with servants and slaves, and having their own Assembly, they governed themselves, and were very jealous of their rights.

The Royalists. — But they were so loyal to the king that when Charles I. was executed, they declared it was treason to question the right of Charles II. to the throne. Parliament therefore sent a force to subdue the colony. There were some who favored resistance; but wiser counsels prevailed, and the colony was governed by the Puritans so long as England was a Commonwealth. The royalist party, however, was strong, and it had large accessions from England. Just as thousands of Puritans left England for New England in the reign of Charles I., so thousands of royalists came over to Virginia when Cromwell was Protector; it was even proposed at one time to set up there the banner of King Charles II., before England recalled him.

The formal name of Virginia was the Colony and Dominion of Virginia. When England called itself a Commonwealth, the royalists in Virginia spoke proudly and affectionately of their country as the Old Dominion of the king. There was great rejoicing among them when Charles II. was crowned,

and Virginia came again under a royalist governor, Sir William Berkeley. For a time the king's partisans had things very much their own way. The Assembly, 1660. instead of being reëlected every two years, continued to sit without change.

The same persons held office and controlled the colony. They came to regard the offices as belonging to them, and used them as a means of getting rich. The laws which England made to regulate trade with Virginia were very severe upon the planters. Every ship laden with tobacco had to pay a heavy duty before it left Virginia, and another when it reached England. By the Navigation Act the planter could send his tobacco to none but English ports.

61. Bacon's Rebellion. — When the people had borne these evils until they seemed intolerable, a new danger arose. The Indians on the Potomac River were drawn into a quarrel with the English. What at first was a petty dispute became rapidly a general outbreak. The people, 1676. already discontented with Sir William Berkeley and his associates, found fresh cause for complaint; they said that the government did not protect them.

A young planter, Nathaniel Bacon, demanded a commission to raise troops against the Indians. The governor refused to give it, and Bacon put himself at the head of a company without the governor's consent. For a summer Virginia was engaged in civil war, with Berkeley, representing the king, at the head of one party, and Bacon, representing the people, at the head of the other. There was some fighting, and Jamestown was burned. But the death of Bacon 1676. deprived the opposition of their leader, and the rebellion faded out. The rebellion had apparently accomplished nothing, but it showed the temper of the Virginia people.

62. Growth of Virginia. — In spite of the severity of the English laws, Virginia steadily grew stronger and richer. The plantations spread farther into the interior. Each planter was like a governor upon his own plantation; and the

habit of ruling servants and slaves made him resolute and independent. All the planters together formed a class like the nobles in other countries. Thus in the Assembly the planters often found themselves upon one side, and the government and king's officers on the other. The planters learned more and more to act together, and to resist whatever threatened to injure their prosperity or lessen their rights.¹



Virginia Halfpenny.



Lord Baltimore Shilling.

Colonial Currency.

63. Carolina.—To the south of Virginia lay a country which extended to the Spanish settlements in Florida. Now and then an adventurous Virginian planter pushed his way southward and settled on the shores of Albemarle Sound. The Virginian Assembly made grants of land there to emigrants; they did not pay much attention to the fact that Charles I.

1643— had already given away the country to some English noblemen. These noblemen had done nothing for the

1653. territory except to name it Carolina, after the king, a name changed by the grants of Charles II. to its present form.

The Northern Settlements.—Some New England men had settled on the Cape Fear River, but had become discouraged and gone away, leaving the clearing to some people from the

1660— Barbadoes Islands. When Charles II. came to the throne he made a fresh grant of the country to certain

1661. gentlemen of his court. The Proprietors, as they were called, appointed a governor and called an Assembly. They

¹ A readable history of the State, especially in the early period, is that by John Esten Cooke, *Virginia, in American Commonwealths*.

encouraged emigration; and the two colonies, the Albemarle and Cape Fear, became the chief centers of population. For the most part, a scattered population cultivated small farms in a rude way. The people were sturdy and independent. 1663.

The Southern Settlements.—In the southern part of Carolina the Proprietors wished to gather the settlers about some chief town. After ten years of experimenting, they fixed upon the site of the present city of Charleston.¹ Charleston was long the extreme southern settlement. 1680.

There was no continuous line of settlements connecting it with Virginia; the only travel by land was by an Indian trail; the way by sea round Cape Hatteras was hazardous, and the colony had thus much more direct intercourse with England than it had with the other American colonies.

A connection was kept up with the English settlements in the West Indies. The Barbadoes Islands formed a stopping place on the way from England; the Proprietors had established a colony there in which African slavery was a regular part. South Carolina was largely settled at first by colonists from the Barbadoes who brought this system with them.

Charleston.—For many years Charleston was practically all of South Carolina there was, and after the back country began to be settled, it was governed from Charleston. In this way, there grew up a compact society, and the colony, unlike the others, was under the control of a few prominent families. The planters who had estates on the seacoast or in the back country made their home in Charleston, and left their estate in charge of overseers. In the immediate neighborhood there were also plantations where the planters themselves lived, while the huts of their slaves formed villages about the great houses.

Social Life.—Thus in Charleston and its neighborhood there was a rich class, enjoying one another's society and having

¹ The name as first used was Charles Town.

abundant leisure. Half of the population of Charleston was made up of slaves who performed all the manual labor. They were the mechanics also. The chief product of the colony was rice; but it was not sent direct from each plantation to England, as was the case with tobacco in Virginia. The rice was sold to merchants in Charleston, who shipped it and brought back English goods and luxuries, which they sold in turn to the planters.

64. A Royal Province. — The nearness of the Spanish possessions led to many conflicts. Pirates, too, infested the coast, making use of the harbors and inlets. There were frequent wars with the Indians; and many of the captives, especially in the early years of the colony, were sold into slavery. The troubles with Spaniards and with pirates led the English government to interfere with the government conducted by the Proprietors. The crown bought the rights of the Proprietors, and, in 1729, divided Carolina into two provinces, North Carolina and South Carolina. After this the governor of each province was appointed by the king, while each had its Assembly chosen by the people.

New Settlers. — Early in the history of South Carolina, French Huguenots, driven from their own country, formed settlements in the colony. At first the English distrusted them, and refused to give them the rights they themselves enjoyed. Afterward the colony was more liberal. It invited men of all religious faiths; and many Germans came, as well as men from Scotland and the north of Ireland. These last settled also in North Carolina. The difficulties which South Carolina had with the Spaniards in Florida were lessened when the country between began to be settled.

65. Oglethorpe and the Founding of Georgia. — When the Carolinas became provinces of the king, the country beyond the Savannah River was not included in South Carolina. It was named Georgia from George II., who was King of England at the time. It was in his reign that the first settlement of Georgia was made.

James Oglethorpe,¹ a humane Englishman, was distressed by the miserable condition of many of his countrymen. He pitied especially those who were oppressed by the harsh laws against debtors; and he determined to make a colony in America, where they could begin life anew. He formed an association which was to be governed by a Board of Trustees, and obtained from the king a charter, which gave them possession of Georgia for twenty-one years.

The Wesleys and Whitefield. — He selected the best colonists he 1733.

could find, and sailed for Charleston. Thence he carried his company to the Savannah River, and laid the foundations of the city of Savannah. He returned to England for more colonists; and with him, when he came back, were Charles Wesley, who was his secretary, and John Wesley, who came as a



James Oglethorpe. Born 1689; died 1785.

missionary to the Indians. Afterward George Whitefield came for a time. These were famous preachers, with whom the Methodist movement began in England. They did not stay long in Georgia, but they attracted attention to the colony.

Enlargement of Georgia. — Large numbers of people joined the colony from England and from Germany. Oglethorpe was governor, and showed the greatest energy in planning for

¹ See *Life of General Oglethorpe* by Henry Bruce in *Makers of America* series.

the welfare of the settlements. He was especially desirous of bringing out emigrants who were familiar with different forms of industry. He occupied new points at Darien, Augusta, and Frederica, on an island at the mouth of the Altamaha.

In 1739 war broke out between England and Spain, and the American settlements at the South were in great danger. A fleet of Spanish vessels with five thousand men appeared off the coast and threatened Frederica. General Oglethorpe, with only eight hundred men, attacked the invaders and saved the colony. At the end of twenty-one years the Trustees found themselves beset with difficulties in governing a distant colony. They gave

1754. up their possessions to the crown, and Georgia was ruled like other parts of America, — by a governor appointed by the king, and an Assembly chosen by the people.

QUESTIONS.

What did George Fox do and teach? What was his success in making converts? How did the Church of England men and the Dissenters treat the Friends, and with what result? Who was William Penn? How did he become interested in this country? When the Friends sent colonies to this country, where did they settle? What did Andros do when he became governor? What was the final settlement of the New York and New Jersey affair?

What grant was made to Penn, and why? What did Penn do with his land? What rules were adopted for the government of the colony? How did Penn treat the Indians? What was to be given to the king each year? Why? What emigrants came in 1681 and 1682? What settlement was made, and where? What is said of the tree shown in the picture? Of what tribe were the Indians, and why were they so friendly? What is said of the condition of the colony when Penn left it?

Why did Lord Baltimore sail for America? What difficulties did he find in selecting a place of settlement? Give an account of the charter granted. Where was a colony planted, and by whom? What was the reason for naming the country Maryland? What arrangements were made by the Calverts in regard to religion? What troubles arose? How did Lord Baltimore avoid trouble with Cromwell? How long did the Calvert family hold control of the colony? Why were there more towns in Maryland than in Virginia? What is said of the boundary troubles? How and when were these difficulties finally settled?

What is meant by the term, Old Dominion? Why did Virginia find it easy to have an assembly? How did the company lose its charter? the effect? Describe the planter's life, and his mode of doing business. Why was Virginia more loyal than New England? How was the feeling shown? What was done by Parliament? What is said of the office holders? How did the Navigation Laws affect Virginia? What outbreak in 1676? What brought on Bacon's rebellion? What is said of the prosperity of Virginia?

How came the Carolinas to be so named? What grants of the country were made? What was finally done with it? When was Charleston founded? What connection did the colony have with northern colonies? What islands in the Atlantic had close connection with South Carolina? How did this city differ from others farther to the north? What was the staple product of the colony? What troubles did the colonists have? What did the British government finally do? When was Carolina divided into two provinces? What new emigrants came to North Carolina? Who settled the country between South Carolina and Florida? What was his object? When was Savannah founded? Who came as emigrants to Oglethorpe's colony? The picture shows him to be a soldier; how did he prove that he was so? What difficulties did the Proprietors have, and what was finally done?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What is the meaning of the name, Philadelphia? Name some places in Maryland beginning with "St." Where does Whitefield lie buried?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITION:

A contrast between Massachusetts Bay Colony and Virginia Colony.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That Bacon's rebellion was justifiable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POSSESSION OF A CONTINENT.

Cordon (côr'dôn). A chain.

Alleghany (ăl'e-gă'nŷ).

Schenectady (ske-něk'tă-de).

Armistice (ăr'mīs-tis). A cessation from fighting, by agreement of the parties in conflict.

Monongahēla.

Kanawha (kā-nə'wă).

Du Quesne (dū kăn').

Militia (mī-līsh'ă). A body of citi-

zen soldiery, trained to bear arms, but called out for service only in special emergencies; distinguished from professional soldiers, sometimes called regulars.

Minas (mē'năs).

Montcalm (mōnt-kăm').

Pōn'tiac.

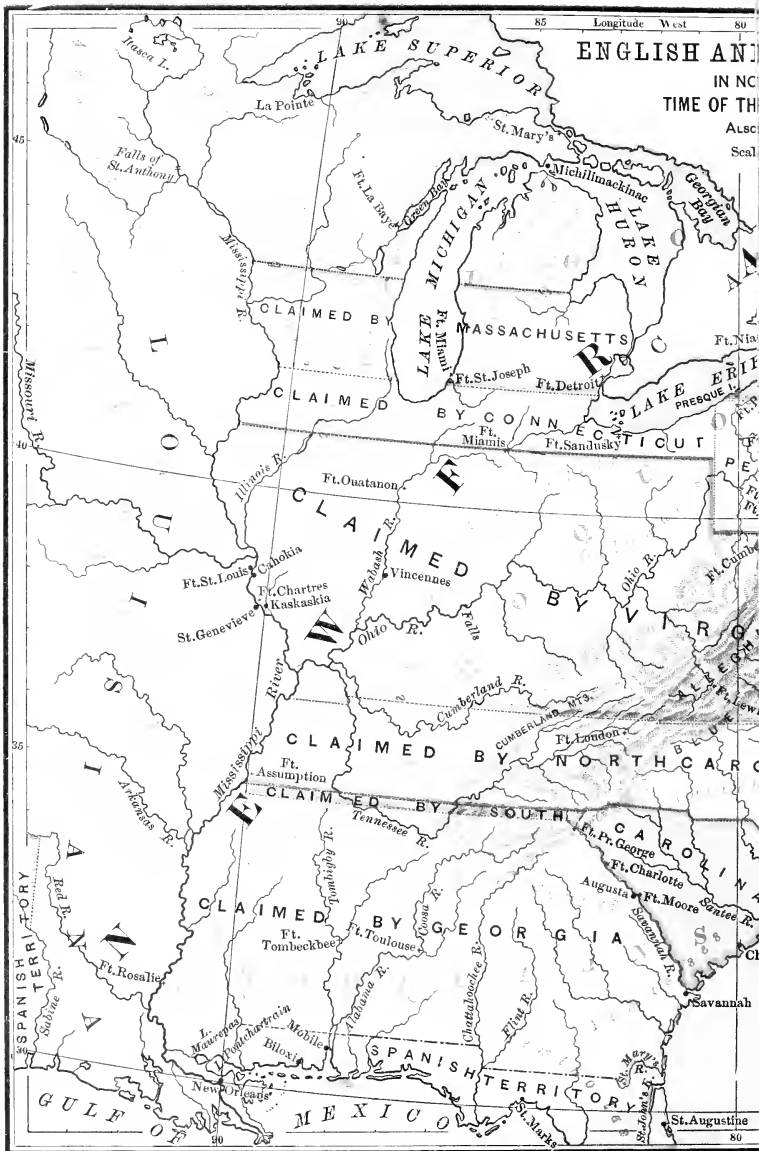
Bouquet (boo-kă').

66. The Difference between the English and the French Settlements. — By natural boundaries, and by a cordon of military posts, the French country of Canada and the Great West was separated from the northern English possessions. The Alleghany and Cumberland Mountains and the Blue Ridge formed another barrier, extending far down toward the Gulf of Mexico. The English occupied the long strip of Atlantic coast, and their settlements at one point and another brought them into the neighborhood of the French.

There was, however, this difference between the occupation of the land by the two nations. The English planted colonies of men and women who made homes for themselves, tilled the soil, carried on trade, had their schools and churches, formed towns, and took an active part in the government; as the land was taken up, newcomers pushed on into the wilderness, felling the forests, and establishing new settlements. The French, on the other hand, set up, as we have seen, trading posts, forts, and mission stations.

About each of these widely separated places gathered a few

ENGLISH AND
IN NO
TIME OF THE
ALSO
Scale

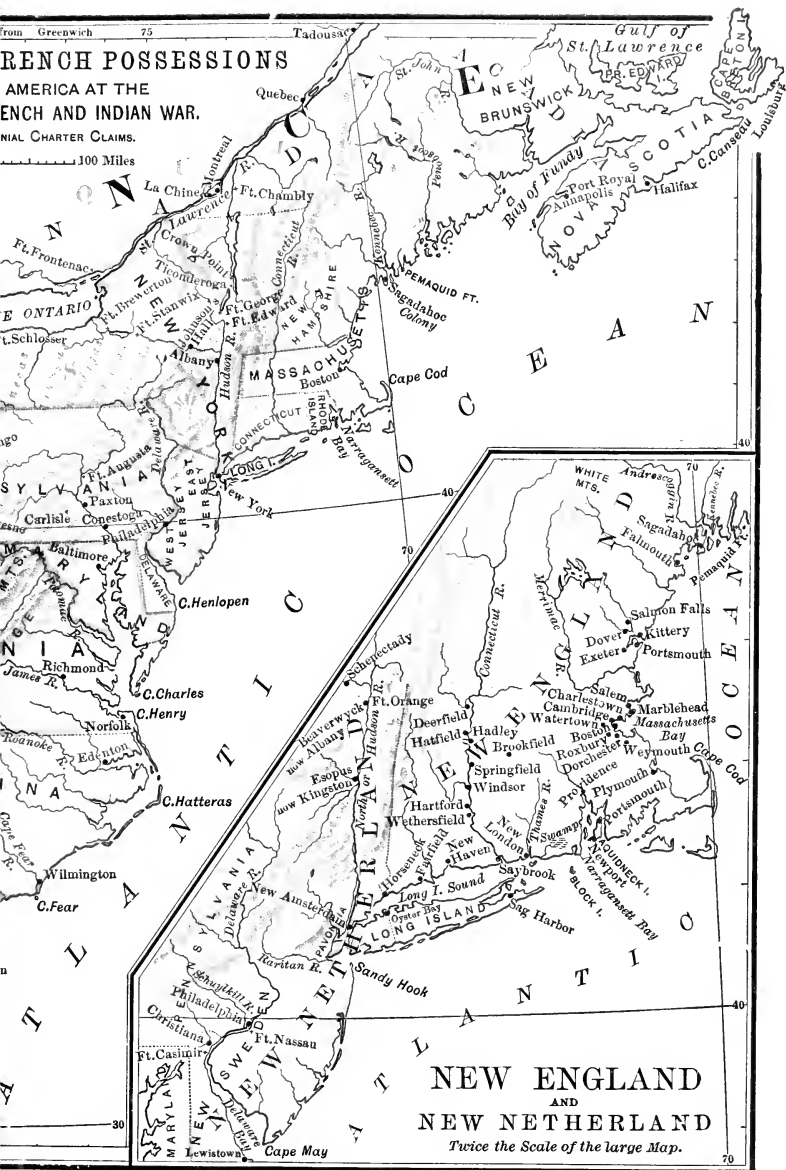


FRENCH POSSESSIONS

AMERICA AT THE
FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

INDIAN CHARTER CLAIMS.

100 Miles



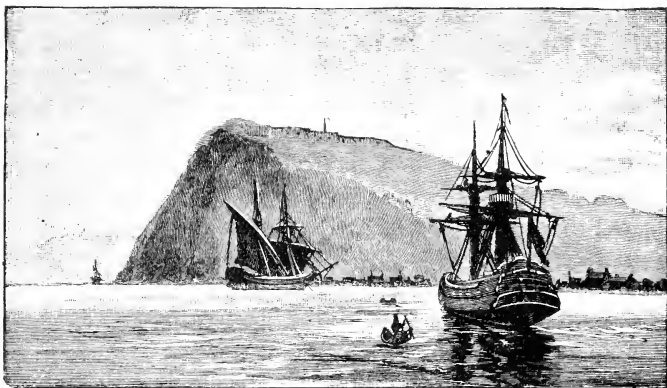
NEW ENGLAND

AND

NEW NETHERLAND

Twice the Scale of the large Map.





The Rock of Quebec.

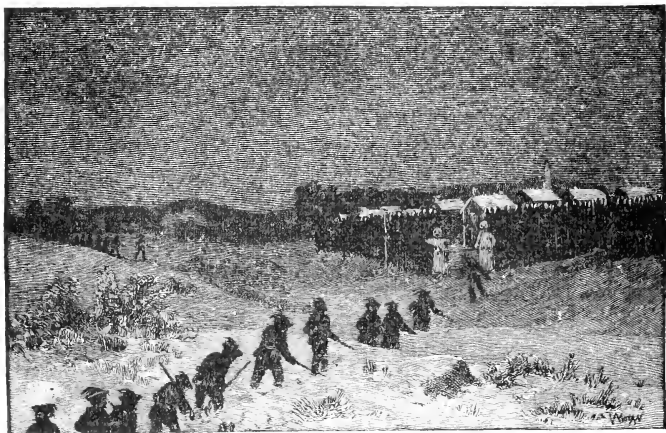
families, but for the most part the colonists were made up of men, adventurous, brave, and restless; they plunged into the woods and consorted with the Indians, but there was little of that steady industry which made the English settlements strong, and there was scarcely a sign of self-government. The army was the power by which the governor ruled, and the governor was an officer of the French king.

The English, the French, and the Indians. — The English colonies, especially the Puritan ones of the North, were very suspicious of the French settlements. They had an English and a Protestant dislike of the Roman Catholic French; besides, they wanted the country which the French were holding, and the entire control of the fishing ground off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Indians, although they were opposed to all Europeans, feared and hated the English most. The English treated them with contempt. The farms of the colonists spoiled their hunting ground and as fast as a colony grew it crowded them out.

The French, with their scattered forts and trading posts, did not interfere so much with the Indians, and they adapted themselves more readily to Indian ways, living with them more as companions. Whenever there was war between the

French and the English, many Indians fought, after their own fashion, on one side or the other.

With each war between France and England, the contest for supremacy in America grew more intense. To the English colonies it was not a matter of European politics, but of the safety of their homes. The danger from Indian attack was greater when the savages were led and encouraged by French soldiers. The French, with their military organization, had a great advantage over the English in any campaign. They were soldiers, bred to fighting. The English, for the most part, were farmers, who fought only when the war was brought close to them, and then with little military organization or discipline.



The Attack on Schenectady.¹

67. King William's War and Queen Anne's War. — There had been scattered fighting since 1689, when the Iroquois fell upon La Chine and committed the most terrible massacre that Canada had ever known. The French and Illinois Indians retaliated by destroying Schenectady the next year. A party

¹ So little did the garrison fear an attack that they posted two snow images for sentinels.

of French and Indians also attacked Deerfield in Massachusetts. After killing many men, women, and children, and burning the village, they carried the remaining inhabitants into captivity. The two periods of fighting 1704. were called after the sovereigns of England then reigning — King William's War and Queen Anne's War.

68. King George's War. — But in 1744 a series of conflicts began which lasted with intervals for nearly twenty years, until the great question whether the French or the English were to be masters of the continent was settled. The first important movement resulted in the capture of Louisburg, on 1745. Cape Breton Island. The French had made this strongly fortified place a means of controlling the fishing ground in the neighborhood; and as it was captured by a New England expedition, aided by British ships, the achievement was received with enthusiasm by the colonies and with astonishment in Europe.

The war of which this action was a part is known as King George's War, and came to an end in 1748. In the treaty of peace, Louisburg was restored to the French, to the bitter disappointment of New England. The colonies seemed to have gained nothing by the victory except a heavy debt, which, however, was soon reimbursed by Parliament, the remembrance of glory, and an increased confidence in their soldiers. The peace was of short duration. It was rather an armistice, during which both parties were making ready for a final contest.

Acadia. — The English sent out a large colony to Acadia, and founded the town of Halifax. The French strengthened their settlements in the same country. The English power lay in its occupation of the land by people rather than by forts. While the French were thinking to fence off the western country by a line of forts, the English were slowly moving their frontier line by an irregular march of settlers. They were organizing emigration companies also.

69. The Ohio Company was formed in 1748 by gentlemen in Virginia and Maryland. They obtained from the king a grant

of five hundred thousand acres, chiefly on the south side of the Ohio River, between the Monongahela and Kanawha. It was their intention to connect this country by roads with the two colonies. In the years immediately following they made

surveys and established a few settlements. One of the surveyors was a Virginian, named George Washington.¹

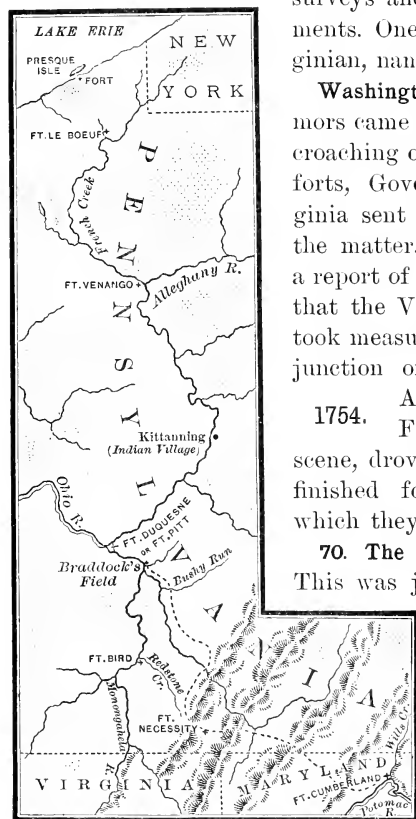
Washington's Journey. — When rumors came that the French were encroaching on this territory with their forts, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent Washington to look into the matter. He brought back such a report of the activity of the French that the Virginia Assembly at once took measures to build a fort at the junction of the Monongahela and

Allegheny. Suddenly the
1754.

French appeared upon the scene, drove away the English, and finished for themselves the fort, which they named Fort Du Quesne.

70. The French and Indian War. — This was just before war was again

formally declared between England and France, and the colonies were at once aroused. They sent delegates to Albany, to a congress called to consult upon the best way of resisting the French. Here



Braddock's Route.

they met also representatives from the Indians of the Six Nations. William Johnson, an Englishman of great influence

¹ Thackeray's *The Virginians* introduces Washington as a young man.

among the Indians, urged these Indians to join them against their old enemy the French.

The English government sent out troops and vessels to America, and appointed a commander-in-chief, General Edward Braddock. Braddock set out from Fort Cumberland, in Maryland. He had with him English regulars, some colonial troops, and a few friendly Indians. Washington was on his staff. Braddock marched slowly, stopping to make better roads and erect earthworks. He followed the methods of marching and fighting to which he was used, and paid no attention to the advice of Washington and others who knew the ways of the country. The French, with their Indian allies, kept themselves informed of every movement that Braddock made.

Braddock's Defeat.—The English general was cautiously moving along and preparing to lay siege to the fort, according to the regular rules, when suddenly, soon after crossing a ford, his army was surprised by Indians, and by French who fought in the manner of Indians. The English were utterly defeated. Braddock was mortally wounded. He transferred his command to Washington, and died July 9,
1755. overwhelmed with remorse. Washington led back the broken army; and the French and Indians followed up their victory by laying waste the back country of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

The disaster to Braddock's army was terrible, but it had an important influence for good. It taught the colonies to rely on their own soldiers rather than on British regulars. They began at once to organize a militia, which was under training upon the battle field during the remainder of the war. This war is known in America as the French and Indian War.¹

71. The Expulsion of the Acadians.—While Braddock was marching against Fort Du Quesne, another force was engaged in reducing the French forts in Acadia. That name was then

¹ Parkman's narration of Braddock's defeat is contained in No. 7 of *Historical Classic Readings*. Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* has its scene laid in the French and Indian War.

applied to what is now Nova Scotia and a large part of New Brunswick. The forts guarded the neck of land which connects the two portions. The English held Nova Scotia, but they also claimed part of the rest of Acadia. The peninsula was occupied partly by French and partly by English farmers, but the French were more numerous. There were prosperous French settlements about the Bay of Minas, under English



Map of Acadia.

law, but not far from the French forts. Most of the French Acadians were simple-minded, peaceable people, who desired only to live undisturbed upon their farms. But among them were some who were bitterly hostile to the English, and took every opportunity to favor the French and menace the English settlement at Halifax.

When the war broke out, the danger from these increased. At last the English authorities determined to solve the difficulty by removing all the French families out of the country.

It was difficult to make distinction between the peaceable settlers and those who caused disturbance, since these were sheltered by the others. The authorities called all the men and boys to assemble in their churches to hear a notice read. Then, when the churches were full, companies of soldiers surrounded them. The people within the churches were prisoners, and were told that they and their wives Sept. 5,
1755. and children were all to be sent away. The poor French had no arms, and could make no resistance. The English made haste and crowded them into ships to send them away to the other colonies. In spite of precautions, families were separated, and great misery fell on all the people. The villages were laid waste, and about six thousand persons were homeless.¹

72. The Seven Years' War. — Everywhere, save in Acadia, the French seemed to have the advantage. There, too, at the end of 1757, the English were in great peril, for a powerful French fleet was gathering at Louisburg. This fleet threatened, not Halifax alone, but New England also. All along the frontier of the middle colonies the English settlers were flying before the French and Indians.

But in the long run it is not armies that conquer, but people behind the armies. The French had this disadvantage, that almost all their men and supplies had to be brought from France. They had no great farms in America, and no flourishing colonies. They had soldiers and generals, but these had to be fed and supported. The English, on the other hand, while sending over troops from England, depended most on the strong colonies in America. These colonies had for a hundred years been growing rich, independent, and self-supporting.

The European Conflict. — Moreover, the contest in America was only part of a great war in which nearly all the nations of Europe were involved. The war, covering the period 1756–1763, is known in history as the Seven Years' War.

¹ The expulsion of the Acadians gave rise to Longfellow's well-known poem *Evangeline*.

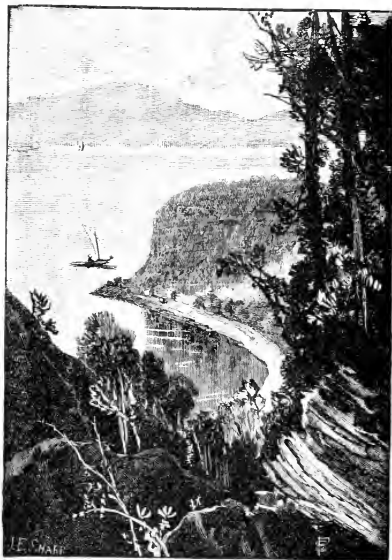
France, Austria, and Russia were upon one side; England and Prussia on the other. Two men were conspicuous in the struggle: Frederick the Great of Prussia, a military genius, and William Pitt, a masterly English statesman. Pitt saw more clearly than the king and other Englishmen what was needed in America, and how the struggle with France there was a part of the great world conflict that was going on. He was Secretary of State and the foremost man in the kingdom; it was his genius that directed the war to a brilliant close. He had faith in the colonies, and his policy was a generous one.

The Policy of Pitt. — England was to furnish arms and ammunition. The colonies were to enlist the men, clothe them, and pay them. England was to provide the generals and division officers; but the colonial troops might choose their own colonels and subordinate officers. The generals and naval commanders whom Pitt appointed were abler men than those who had heretofore been sent to America. A new campaign was planned; but the points of attack were the same, for the strong points of the French position were Louisburg, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort Du Quesne.

The Campaigns. — The first move was by a combined naval and land attack under Sir Jeffrey Amherst against Louisburg.

In less than two months this important place was
 July 26, 1758. captured, and six thousand prisoners taken. New
 England was overjoyed that this prize was again in her
 possession. The movement against Ticonderoga at the same
 1758. time resulted in a serious defeat of the English;
 1759. but Fort Du Quesne was taken, and renamed Fort
 Pitt. Fort Frontenac was destroyed and Fort Niagara
 captured. Then Amherst took the field at Lake George,
 and drove the French from Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
 This brilliant series of successes was due partly to the energy
 of Pitt, partly to the steady decrease of the French resources.
 France was becoming nerveless under a corrupt government,
 and gave its American settlements but little substantial aid.

73. The Capture of Quebec. — The French had been crowded back into Canada, and the next summer the English prepared to advance upon Quebec, the stronghold of the country. From Louisburg a fleet bearing eight thousand men moved up the St. Lawrence and dropped anchor before Quebec. Outside the fortifications on that great rock, Montcalm lay with his army. The commander of the English forces was a brave young general, James Wolfe, who had taken part in the siege of Louisburg. He was the idol of his soldiers, but he was of feeble frame, wasted by disease. He saw before him the frowning cliff of Quebec, and he knew that every point was guarded by the enemy. He made one desperate and disastrous attempt to capture the outworks near Montmorenci. The failure proved that the only chance lay in surprising the enemy and reaching the heights from the river.



Wolfe's Cove.

Wolfe's Stratagem. —

Accordingly Wolfe divided his army. He left a portion to make a feint of attacking Quebec upon the north side, where the St. Charles River separates the rock from the mainland. Then he sent his ships and transports up the St. Lawrence, while he marched the remainder of his army along the southern bank out of reach of the enemy's guns. When he had passed the town, he reëmbarked his soldiers on board the vessels, and waited his opportunity. About two hours before

daybreak, thirty barges, bearing sixteen hundred soldiers, dropped silently down the stream to a cove where a narrow path led up a wooded defile in the steep hillside.

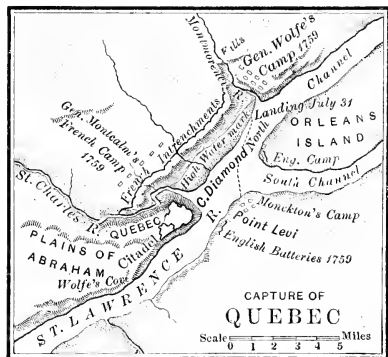
Sentinels challenged the boats at one or two points as they passed down; but they were answered in French, and made to believe that they were boats which were expected with provisions for the besieged town. Some of the men sprang ashore and seized the sentinel at the foot of the pass. Then they scrambled up the height and captured the guard which was posted at the head. The rest of the troops climbed rapidly

Sept. 13,
1759.

up the pass. The ships dropped down the stream with reënforcements; and when the sun arose the British army was drawn up in line upon the Plains of Abraham behind the town, and partly intrenched.

The Battle of the Plains of Abraham. — The French looking out from the walls could scarcely believe their eyes. Mont-

calm and the bulk of the French army were upon the other side of the St. Charles River, where they had been stationed in a fortified camp which extended along the river, to prevent the English from approaching the town from that quarter. He brought them hastily over, led them through the town to the plain, and



at once attacked the English. The English met the attack with coolness; they waited until the French were within forty yards; then they fired.

The ranks of the French were at once broken, and Wolfe, dashing to the front, led his men in a fierce charge. The French, exhausted by their long march, turned and fled, and the English drove them behind the walls of the town.

Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm.—Almost at the same moment both Wolfe and Montcalm fell, mortally wounded. Wolfe lived to hear that the French were everywhere giving way, and to issue his final orders. Montcalm, borne to the hospital, sank into despair, comforted only by the thought that he should not live to see the surrender of Quebec. He died of a broken heart as much as of his wounds. The French, shut up in the town, their brave commander gone, laid down their arms, and the English took possession of Quebec. The diminished French army gathered at Montreal. Some fighting followed; but the English brought their forces from Oswego, from Crown Point, and from Quebec; and September, 1760, Montreal surrendered.¹

74. A treaty of peace was signed at Paris early in 1763. France gave up to Great Britain Canada and all her possessions east of the Mississippi, except two little islands near Newfoundland, which she kept for fishing stations; except, also, New Orleans and the district about it. Spain, the ally of France, gave up Florida to Great Britain. On the same day France secretly made over to Spain all that she claimed under the name of Louisiana, and also New Orleans, and the district about it.

75. Pontiac's War.—New France disappeared from the map of North America, and England was supreme save in a vaguely known region to the west of the Mississippi which Spain nominally held. But the French inhabitants remained in Canada; and in the west, although the forts had passed into English hands, the traders and traffickers were French. The Indians, meanwhile, were not ready to see the country which they regarded as their own transferred by a stroke of the pen from one European power to another. It was one thing to have the French trading among them; another to have the hated English occupying their lands.

A remarkable man named Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, now

¹ The war which closed with the surrender of Montreal is graphically narrated by Parkman in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

made a final stand against the power which threatened the Indian race. He succeeded in forming a league of almost all the tribes, though Johnson, who had been made Sir William, prevented the greater part of the Six Nations from joining Pontiac. The Indians captured and destroyed eight of the twelve forts, but failed in their attempt upon the important posts of Detroit and Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg.

Rogers and Bouquet. — For three years they waged war on the frontier; but the English were led by two notable men, 1766. Major Robert Rogers and Colonel Henry Bouquet, and, at last, so completely did they break the power of the tribes, that Pontiac and other chiefs met Johnson at Oswego, and entered into a treaty of peace with the English.¹

¹ The most thorough and absorbing account of this war is Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*.

QUESTIONS.

What are natural boundaries, and what ones separated the English from the French? What trade was there in the French possessions which they wished to keep? How did the French and English differ in race, religion, and politics? What special dislike did the New England people have towards the French? Through whom did the furs of the North and West come to New York? Who had built La Chine? How did the French avenge the attack on La Chine? Who was Frontenac?

In what way were the French a source of danger to the English colonists? How was it that the French were better soldiers than the English? Name the limits in time of King William's War; of Queen Anne's War. Did the French give these names? Why was an attack made on Louisburg? What was done with Louisburg? How did the English attempt to gain possession of the country? the French? What was the period of King George's War? of the French and Indian War? How happened Washington to have anything to do with Fort Du Quesne? What council was held? What was the plan of campaign? Tell the story of Braddock's defeat.

Why were regular troops poorly fitted for Indian warfare? Where was Acadia? Describe the country and its inhabitants. Why were the Acadians not allowed to remain upon their farms? Describe the action of the English authorities. What became of the people that were forced

from their home? What was the Seven Years' War in Europe? What two men stand out in the great struggle?

What was the condition of the French in 1758? the English? Who was William Pitt? What did he do to carry on the war? What was the plan of campaign? What was the result? Who took command of the expedition from Louisburg? Describe the man. What was the result of the first attack on Quebec? Give an account of the change of plan, the surprise, and the battle. Tell the story of Wolfe and Montcalm. When did Montreal surrender?

By the treaty of 1763 what territory was given up by France, and what was retained? How did the Indians look upon these changes? Who was Pontiac, and what were his plans? What other Indian chief had formed a similar plot, and with what result? What were Pontiac's first successes? Who opposed him? What prevented the Iroquois from joining the other tribes? How did the war end? What three Englishmen were conspicuous in Pontiac's War?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Who built Fort Necessity? Give the story connected with this fort. What events in Europe were connected with King William's War? Queen Anne's War? King George's War? By what name was each of these wars known in Europe? What place has been called the Gibraltar of America? When was held the first American congress? Where was it held, and what colonies sent delegates to it? What became of the Acadians after their dispersion? What well-known Acadian names are to be found and where? Who commanded the expedition against Louisburg? What was the title of William Pitt after he was raised to the peerage? What poem did Wolfe recite as he was rowed up the river to Wolfe's cove?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

The surprise of Schenectady.

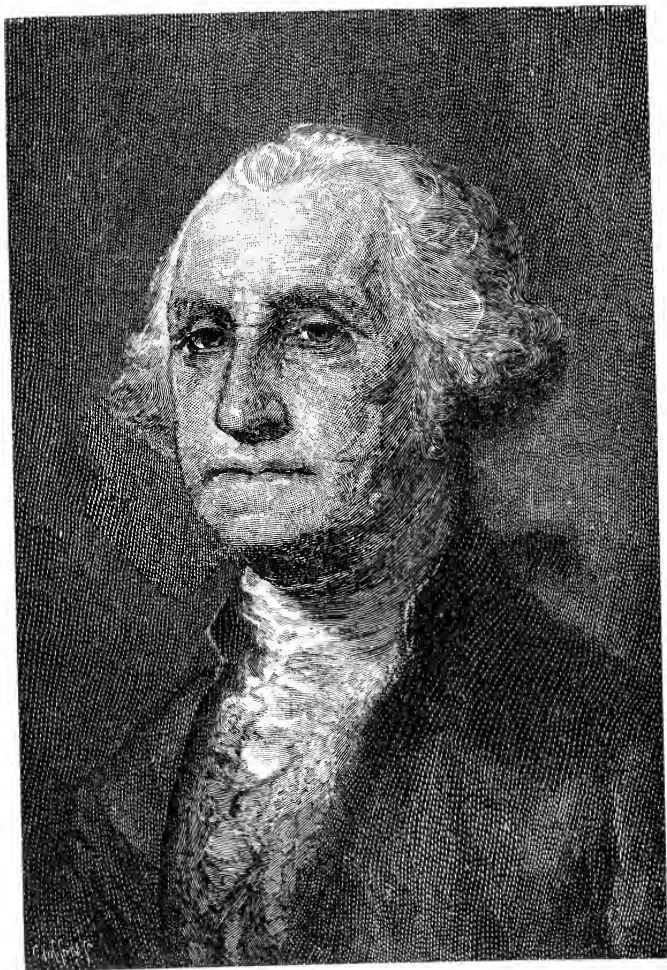
The attack on Deerfield.

Describe the burning of the village of Grand Pré and the scenes accompanying it.

Contrast the characters of King Philip and Pontiac.

DEBATE :

Resolved, That the English were justified in removing the Acadians.



George Washington.

Born February 22, 1732; died December 14, 1799.

BOOK I.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION.

CHAPTER I.

THE THIRTEEN ENGLISH COLONIES.

Dress'er. A cupboard, or set of shelves, for holding plates and dishes.

Faneuil (Făn'el, or, as old-fashioned people in Boston pronounce it, Fŭn'el). Peter Faneuil was of a Huguenot family.

Privateer'. A private vessel fitted out for war purposes.

Quilting Bee. A company of neighbors met to make bedquilts for the family inviting them.

Shēr'iff. An officer of the *shire* or county, who executes the orders of the court.

Back'woodsmen. People living in the wilderness, away from settlements.

1. The Settlements on the Atlantic Coast. — When the French lost control of that portion of North America which they had explored and had begun to colonize, there were thirteen separate English colonies which lay along the Atlantic coast. The strip of the continent which they occupied, except in southern Georgia, was separated from the interior by a mountain barrier. This barrier was not far from three hundred miles in width and covered with a dense forest in which the Indian might at any time be met. Here and there were trails through gaps in the ridge, but to follow these trails was a matter of great difficulty and peril. Only one really broad valley, that of the Mohawk, opened a way, but the river was not navigable for large craft, and the region through which it passed was held by the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois, the most powerful body of Indians east of the Mississippi.

The great natural entrance to the interior of the continent was by the broad river St. Lawrence and the chain of great lakes. On the other hand, the seacoast along which the English dwelt had good harbors, and there was a constant passage back and forth between the new World and the Old. Thus the people who lived in English settlements kept up a busy connection with England, buying much of what they needed in the old country and sending over their own products, especially tobacco and lumber. Moreover, the easiest way of going from one colony to another was by vessels along the coast, and in this way, and because of the extensive fishing interests, especially in New England, which was near the great fishing grounds, the people were largely a seafaring people.

Distribution of Population. — There were at this time not far from sixteen hundred thousand persons living in the thirteen colonies, about equally divided between the colonies north and south of Mason and Dixon's Line; about one fourth of the whole population consisted of negro slaves, and of these three fourths lived in the Southern colonies, the remainder being chiefly house servants in the North. The whites were for the most part of English blood, and the English language was the common speech; the chief exception was to be found in a considerable body of Germans in Pennsylvania and a smaller number of descendants of the Dutch in New York and New Jersey. There were French Huguenots in small numbers in most of the colonies, and notably in the Carolinas. They all lived under the English law, and much the largest part was of the Protestant faith. All the colonies had thus a common likeness, but there was a difference in the character of each. This character was determined by the kind of soil on which the colony was planted, by the people who formed it, their origin, their occupation, and their way of thinking about religion and government.

2. Life in Massachusetts. — Massachusetts was the most northern and eastern colony. It then included what is now

the State of Maine. It had a long seacoast with many excellent harbors; the interior was covered with dense forests. The soil was not very productive; but the land was divided into small farms, which by hard labor were made to yield an abundance. The people of the colony were descendants mainly of Englishmen who had come over in the first ten years after Winthrop and his company landed. They were farmers, who raised, besides what they needed themselves, hay, grain, and cattle. They exported these to the Southern colonies and to the West Indies.

They were fishermen. A figure of a codfish hangs in the hall of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. It is a sign of what, with the whale fishery, was once the greatest source of wealth in the colony. They were shipbuilders and sailors. Their ships carried goods back and forth between the colonies and between Europe and America; they even carried goods from one port of Europe to another.

They were mechanics also. They built sawmills and gristmills by the banks of streams. They set up blacksmiths' forges, not only to shoe their horses, but to make tires for wagon wheels. They were coopers, and made barrels in which to pack fish. They made rope for their vessels. They had tanyards where they dressed leather. On all sides was the busy hum of industry. Moreover, these various occupations were not very carefully separated; the same man might be by turns, farmer, fisherman, seaman, and mechanic.

Mode of Life and Domestic Customs. — In the country, people bought few things and hired very little labor. The new settler cleared a place in the forest, and built his house of logs, stopping the chinks with clay; by and by, as he grew more prosperous, he built a frame house. The two principal rooms in his house were the kitchen and the best room. In the kitchen was a great chimney, with a fireplace so large that there was room within it for seats, where the family gathered in the cold winter evenings. They burned huge logs which had been cut in the woods and hauled on sleds.

The cooking was done over a wood fire. An iron crane swung in the fireplace, and pothooks hung from the crane. The pots which hung from the hooks held the vegetables and the salt pork which were boiled for the dinner. It was seldom that the family had fresh meat, except when they shot or trapped game. They baked bannocks—flat cakes of rye or Indian meal—over the hot ashes on the hearth, and in the better houses a brick oven was built in the chimney. This was filled with hot wood coals; and when it was thoroughly heated, the coals were swept out and bread or beans set to bake. They used wooden platters for the most part, with a few pewter dishes which stood in a shining row on the dresser.

In the kitchen stood the spinning wheel, with which the women spun the wool and flax for family use. The loom for weaving was usually kept in another room. The best room was rarely used by the family. It was kept for company and special occasions. The floor was sprinkled with fine sand, and figures were traced on it like the figures in a modern carpet. Brass andirons shone in the fireplace, which in summer was filled with the green tops of asparagus.

Social Habits and Distinctions of Rank.—Where all worked with their hands there was little difference in social rank. People came together for a house raising or harvest, for corn husking or a quilting bee. The family at whose house they met provided good things to eat and drink, and the day ended with a frolic—blindman's buff, fox and geese, and other sports. People knew each other familiarly in both work and play.

There were some distinctions made. The minister was the great man of the place. He had his farm, like others, and worked with his hands; but he was looked up to as a man of learning and piety. He was a college-bred man, and often prepared the boys of his parish for college. He was the leader of the church; and the church was the highest institution in the colony. In the church, people were placed according to their dignity. The deacons sat in front, near the pulpit. The

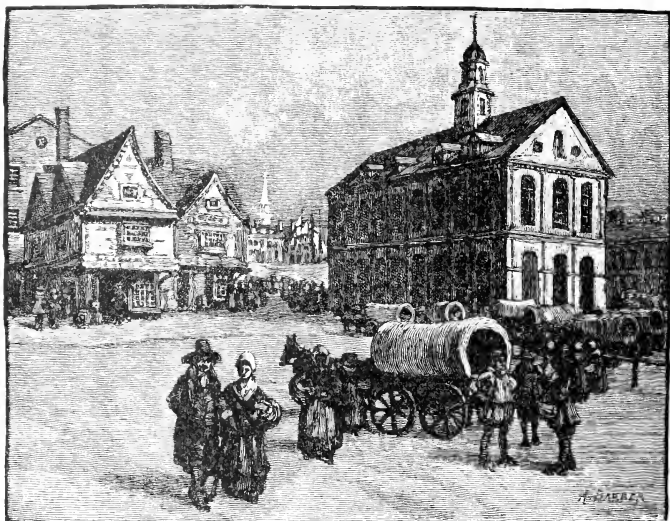
minister's family, the magistrates, and the chief farmers had the best seats given them. Often families were angry because they were not given seats as good as they thought they should have.¹ Except in one or two large towns, the only church was what is now known as the Congregational.

Civil Government. — However lonely separate farms might be, each was included in some town.² The meeting house was at the center of the town, and there also were the country store and the blacksmith's shop. The schoolhouse was sometimes there; but that was built in the place most convenient for the families whose children went to it. Once a year, at least, a town meeting was held. The men chose the officers of the town for the next year and decided all questions which came up about the affairs of the town, such as schools, roads, and taxes.

They also chose persons to represent the town in the Great and General Court, which met at Boston. Thus the people discussed the affairs of the whole colony as well as those of the town. Their representatives, when they went to Boston, knew how their neighbors felt and thought about public affairs. The town meetings of Boston were especially important, because that was the chief town and the seat of government. They were held in Faneuil Hall,—a building given by Peter Faneuil, a citizen of Boston. In the town meeting the people learned to govern themselves. Every voter used his vote. He knew the rules of debate, and he made his opinion known. There was free discussion, and the people were quick to learn the meaning of every law which was passed.

¹ In college, students were arranged in the catalogue according to their social position, and had corresponding rights and privileges. Yale College adopted the alphabetical order in 1768, and Harvard followed five years later.

² The town in New England differs from the township of the West, of which an explanation will be found on p. 219. Geographically, the boundaries of a New England town are irregular, being determined partly by natural objects, partly by surveys made from time to time to fix the limits of grants of land or settlements made by the first inhabitants. Its origin was in the company of people who formed a church, and were set off thus from similar companies. But a town once formed, other churches might be formed in the same town.



Faneuil Hall, 1763.

Country and Town Life. — There was a marked difference between the life of the merchant class in the towns and that of the farmers. Spacious houses, often of brick, stood in large gardens and were furnished well. The growth of cities and towns in the last sixty years has swept away most of these, but a few still remain, and have even served as models for houses now building, which are said to be in colonial style.¹ The people who lived in them dressed richly and lived in comfort. The royal governor and the officers of the crown in Boston formed a miniature court about which the richer folk gathered.

3. Life in Other New England Colonies. — What was true of Massachusetts was true also, in the main, of the other colonies

¹ A good example of this may be seen in the well-known Craigie House in Cambridge, once Washington's headquarters, and afterwards the residence of the poet Longfellow. Many new houses in the neighborhood are in architectural harmony with it.

of New England, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Vermont at this time was a sparsely settled country claimed both by New Hampshire and New York, and with a good many settlers from Connecticut; Maine, as we have said, was a province of Massachusetts. The forests of Maine and New Hampshire afforded lumber for export, and the seaports were lively centers of shipbuilding and the coasting trade.

During the French and Indian War great numbers of vessels all along the New England coast, and especially in Rhode Island, were fitted out as privateers, and carried on the war on their own account. In Rhode Island the government was less prominent than in Massachusetts; there was more individual freedom. In Connecticut the whole territory was cut up into little towns, and there was no 1701.
one place of great importance, though Yale College had been established at New Haven.¹

4. Life in New York. — In New York the population lived mainly near the great rivers. There was a cluster of towns about New York Bay; then settlements followed the course of the Hudson to Albany; and along the valley of the Mohawk westward, descendants of the Dutch and of the English occupied the country. The Dutch language was very generally used, and the old Dutch customs were still followed. The houses were built after the pattern of houses in Holland, and usually of brick. Within they were kept scoured, so that no spot of dirt could be seen. The wide chimneys had tiles surrounding the fireplaces, with pictures on them of Bible scenes. Great chests of drawers held piles of linen, woven by the mothers and daughters. Behind glass cupboards were shining silver and pewter ware and delicate china. There was an air of comfort and ease. In the shops at Albany, one would see furs and skins brought by the Indians, and silks and satins brought by vessels from the East Indies for the rich Dutch families.

¹ There have been many books treating of New England in colonial days. Among the most particular in detail are Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*.

The Patroons and their Influence. — The large grants of land originally made by the Dutch West India Company had led to the establishment of great estates. The patroon lived in a great house, with many servants about him. He did not sell his land, but let it out in farms. This interfered with the growth of independent farms, but the patroons with their wealth were able to introduce better cattle, horses, and modes of farming. These landowners formed a class like the English aristocracy, and their homes were the scenes of great hospitality in the summer time. It was hard for the farmers who cleared away the forests and broke up the new soil on these great estates not to believe that they made the land their own. They rarely saw the patroon, and they began to ask what right he had to their rent in the wilderness. Many refused to pay rent, and drove off the sheriff who came to demand it.

The great estates interfered also with the growth of towns. Thus, though there were towns in New York, and the government was much the same as in New England, each person did not, as there, feel an interest in the whole colony. The people lacked the town meeting in its best form. The town of New York was a military post of Great Britain. It was also a busy commercial port. The English officers and the rich merchants lived in better style than other people.

Throughout the colony there were more who were very rich and more who were very poor than in New England. The colony also differed from New England in having within its borders a large number of Indians of the powerful tribe of the Iroquois. These were made peaceable neighbors first through their hatred of the French, and then by the strong influence of Sir William Johnson, who had married into the tribe and had encouraged settlements of them about his own estates at Johnstown.¹

5. Life in the Middle Colonies. — New Jersey, enclosed by New York and Pennsylvania, was protected by both from Indian disturbances. It was a farming country, with a sea-

¹ An interesting contemporaneous account of life in New York may be found in Mrs. Grant's *An American Lady*.

coast which had few harbors. Thus there was little trade. Small villages and small farms covered the country more closely than in other colonies, and the people were nearly all of one class in life. The Friends were still the most important people both in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania, though they had lost much influence by their refusal to do their part in the French and Indian War. They were prosperous and charitable, and lived mainly on the rich farms and in the thriving towns of the eastern settlements.

There were many Germans in the middle and eastern parts of Pennsylvania. The Germans agreed well with the Friends, but were frequently engaged in quarrels with the Irish, who lived chiefly on the western frontier. These backwoodsmen were constantly in difficulty with the Indians. When they demanded military help, they were opposed by the Friends, and all these quarrels were carried into the Assembly.

The Largest Town in the Country. — The most thickly settled part of America was the country about the shores of Delaware Bay and River. Three colonies bordered on this water,—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. The last two were under the same governor, but had separate legislatures. Philadelphia, the center of this population, was the largest town in the country, and numbered about twenty-five thousand inhabitants in 1763. It was laid out in regular squares, lined with trees. The houses were mainly of brick, sometimes of stone, rarely of wood. There were sidewalks to the streets,—an unusual thing in those days. There were gardens and orchards about many of the houses, and there was an excellent market. A trading community occupied the town. There were many rich merchants who lived handsomely, and a large number of prosperous mechanics.

Benjamin Franklin. — One of these mechanics was Benjamin Franklin,¹ who had come to Philadelphia from Boston

¹ Franklin was born in Boston and was one of a family of seventeen children. He showed so early a brightness of mind that his father sent him to school and meant to make a minister of him. He quickly made his way to

when a young man, had set up as a printer, and was now the foremost man in Pennsylvania. Franklin was a hard-working, clear-headed man, who took the liveliest interest in the affairs of the people. He persuaded the Philadelphians to keep their city clean, to light it with lamps, to protect it from fire, and to give it a good police. Through his influence, largely, the city was the most orderly and the most flourishing in the country.

He was a man of science. He discovered protection against lightning by the use of iron rods. He invented the Franklin stove, which increased the comfort of houses and economized fuel. He printed every year *Poor Richard's Almanac*,¹ in which he gave good advice to his countrymen about habits of prudence. His advice was so sensible, and given in such homely language, that everybody read and remembered it. He was one of the most active in raising supplies to aid in carrying on the war with the French and Indians.

His townsmen sent him to the Assembly, where he became a leader of the people in opposition to the Penn family; for this family, which was still in power, was unwilling to bear its share of expenses in protecting the colony against

the top, but his father was alarmed at the expense of sending him to college and so took him into his shop and set him to making candles. Franklin was a leader among the boys and was so full of enterprise that his father feared he would run away to sea, so he finally made him an apprentice to another of his sons who was a printer. James Franklin set up a newspaper and Benjamin began to write for it, but without letting his brother know he wrote the pieces. The brothers did not get along very well, and when he was seventeen Benjamin left James in the lurch, got together some money by selling his books, and made his way to Philadelphia. I have given a fuller account of Franklin in my *Short History*, and Hawthorne has a sketch in his *Biographical Stories*. But every one should read Franklin's *Autobiography*, not only for its delightful narrative by a great man of his own life, but for the glimpse it gives of life in America before the Revolution.

¹ A convenient collection of bits from these almanacs as well as passages from other of Franklin's writings may be found in the *Riverside Literature* series, No. 21, and also in *The World's Classics*. The proverbs and wise sentences were introduced by the phrase "As Poor Richard says"; thus, "God helps them that help themselves, as Poor Richard says." The signature which Franklin used was Richard Saunders. Some of the proverbs were familiar sayings, cleverly applied, some were of Franklin's own invention.



Benjamin Franklin.

Born January 6, 1706; died April 17, 1790.

the enemy. Franklin was not alone in his love of science and interest in public affairs. There were other men in Pennsylvania only less distinguished than he, whose names are still remembered,¹ and there were flourishing societies, and the first medical school in the country was established in Philadelphia.

6. Life in the South.—The colonies lying to the south of Mason and Dixon's Line differed from those of the North in being wholly agricultural and in having their labor done by black slaves. The chief products were tobacco in the northern parts, rice, indigo, and a little cotton, in the southern. The land was held in large estates, so that power was in the hands of a comparatively small number of families.

In Virginia, the water ways were so excellent that vessels from England or the Northern colonies could receive and discharge cargoes at the wharves of the several plantations. Thus towns were insignificant, and the merchants were few; the planter shipped his tobacco direct and received in return, landed at his own door, whatever he needed that his own plantation did not produce.

Baltimore was the only town of importance in the tobacco country. Farther south, in the rice country, was Charleston. The planters in South Carolina divided their time between their plantations and Charleston. They could not live much of the year on their estates, and the care of the black slaves was left largely to overseers. Thus slavery in Virginia was less harsh than in South Carolina. In the former colony, masters and servants formed one great household; in the latter, the unhealthy country led to frequent deaths among the slaves; their number was filled up with fresh importations from Africa, and the masters and mistresses might have slaves whom they never saw.

Early Influence of Slavery.—Since almost all manual labor in the Southern colonies was done by slaves, the free men felt

¹ Among these were John Bartram, the botanist; David Rittenhouse, the astronomer; Benjamin Rush, the physician.

it to be beneath them to work with their hands. The better class, who owned the slaves, had no need to labor; the poorer sort were unwilling to do what slaves did. Thus, between the planters and the blacks, there came to be a class of poor whites who lived from hand to mouth and learned no habits of industry and saving. The planters often sent their sons to Europe to be educated, and they had teachers for their younger children at home.

There were, therefore, not many schools, and the poorer people grew up in ignorance. The rich had books and pictures, and were a courteous, generous class, high-spirited and well-educated. In Maryland the proprietary government continued. In Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the governors and other officers were appointed by the king, while the members of assemblies were chosen by the people. The people who chose the members were the landholders and slave owners, and they naturally took a great interest in politics.¹

¹ A good many interesting items of life in the colonies will be found in the narratives I have brought together in *Men and Manners in America a Hundred Years Ago*. Another book which goes over much general ground in a picturesque fashion is Charles Carleton Coffin's *Old Times in the Colonies*. See also Kellogg's *Good Old Times*, dealing especially with western Pennsylvania.

QUESTIONS.

What was the general character of the country occupied by the thirteen English colonies? How many inhabitants were there, and what proportion were blacks? Name the thirteen colonies in their order beginning with the one farthest north. Describe life in Massachusetts. What determined the industries of the colony? Name the occupations of the people. Describe their houses; the rooms; the fireplaces; the fuel; the food; the clothing; the best room. How did the people amuse themselves? What were the social distinctions? What was at the center of the town? What was the local government? Explain the difference between a New England town and a Western township. What was Faneuil Hall? What was the difference between town life and country life? What constitutes the chief industry of Maine and New Hampshire? What effect did the French war have on New England industry?

Where were the settlements in New York? Why was the Dutch lan-

guage used there? Describe the houses; the fireplaces; the chests of drawers; the glass cupboards. Of what trade was Albany the center? Describe the farms. Describe the town of New York. What was lacking among the Dutch to cultivate the spirit of liberty? What Indians were in New York, and what Englishman had great influence among them? Describe New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the people who lived there. Where was the most thickly settled portion of America? Describe Philadelphia. Give the story of Benjamin Franklin. What was *Poor Richard's Almanac*? Describe the planters' manner of living. What is said of the governments of the Southern colonies? of the people who composed all the colonies?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Who were the Huguenots, and what brought them to this country? Name some instances in recent history when Faneuil Hall has been used for great public meetings. What are the principal colleges in New England, and when were they established? What old scientific association has its home in Philadelphia? What part did Franklin have in the establishment of public libraries? Why did slavery die out in the Northern colonies? When did it disappear by law in Massachusetts? in New York? What customs inaugurated by the Dutch in New York remain in vogue? How did ten ministers bring about the founding of Yale College?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

A New England town meeting.

Franklin's boyhood.

How Franklin once flew a kite and what came of it.

A Sunday service in a Puritan church.

Poor Richard's Almanac and some of its maxims.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That Franklin became of greater importance to the country by taking up his residence in Philadelphia.

Resolved, That the absence of towns in Virginia was of advantage in the development of the colony.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES.

Ex'ports. Goods sent out of the ports of a country.

Im'ports. Goods brought into the ports of a country.

Smuggle. To import goods secretly, so as to escape the payment of duties.

Ad'vocate General. An officer of the government who represents it in cases brought before the courts.

Direct Tax. A tax collected directly from a person, as a poll tax, or a

percentage upon his property. An indirect tax is one which is collected on the value of goods, and thus is usually added to the price of the goods by the owner. A duty on imports is an indirect tax.

Effigy (ě'fī-ġŷ). A figure in imitation of a person. To hang or burn in effigy is to hang or burn a stuffed figure intended to represent the obnoxious person.

7. **The thirteen colonies** were thirteen distinct governments, but they had also much in common. They were English colonies; they obeyed English laws; they called the King of England their king; they traded with one another, both by land and by water; families moved from one colony to another; letters and newspapers were sent back and forth. There was no such quick movement as is now possible. The roads were rudely made and ill kept. People traveled chiefly by their own conveyances.

In 1756 the first stage ran between New York and Philadelphia, and was three days making the journey. Those who traveled by sloop packets were dependent on the winds. They might be three days in going from New York to Providence, Rhode Island, and they might be three times as long. The mails were carried mainly on horseback, and connected the line of settlements regularly from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Philadelphia.

South of Philadelphia the rider went only when he had collected what he thought enough matter. In North Carolina the mail passed through the coast towns only about once a month. The different colonies had also their separate postal arrangements within their own borders.

Early Newspapers. — The people in different parts of the country depended for news chiefly on the letters which they received. The newspapers did not at first tell much of what was going on in the places where they were published. They contained advertisements, and news about European affairs copied from the London papers. The first newspaper was the *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704. In 1763 there were only between thirty and forty newspapers in the entire country. The printer, who was often the postmaster, did not usually write many articles himself. He printed letters written to him by his fellow townsmen, and these letters told what the writers thought of the government or of public affairs. Thus, when the colonies began to have common interests, the newspaper came to be of importance.

8. Plans for Union. — The dangers which threatened the colonies had more than once led them to seek some union among themselves. This is seen in the confederation of the New England colonies in 1643, in the congress held in New York after the destruction of Schenectady, in 1690, and in the congress held at Albany in 1754. These all arose from difficulties with the Indians.

Franklin, who was a delegate from Pennsylvania to this last congress, drew up a plan on his way to Albany for a more perfect union of all the colonies under one government. When he met the other delegates he found that some of them had drawn up similar plans. There was a growing belief that some union was necessary. The congress at Albany discussed the matter, and agreed upon a plan which was mainly that of Franklin. He impressed his view of a Federal union upon the people in a characteristic fashion, for his newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, for a long time bore a device which

represented a snake cut up into fragments, each fragment labeled with initials of the colonies from New England to Georgia, and the motto beneath, "Unite or Die."¹ This plan was rejected both by the English government and by the separate colonies. England thought it gave too much power to the people; the colonies thought it gave too much power to the president, who was to be an officer of the crown.



Reasons for and against Union. — After all, there was too much difference in the size and importance of the different colonies to permit them to agree upon any union. The small colonies were jealous of the great ones; there were many quarrels over boundaries; they were not all in equal danger from the Indians. It was only when they were all in danger that they could forget their differences and unite in a common cause.

They were all a part of the British Empire, and they had the independence and love of liberty which belonged to Englishmen. Twice since America began to be settled by Englishmen and women, the people of England had resisted the government because it was unjust and was taking away their liberty. More than once in the American colonies the people had risen when they thought their liberties in danger.

9. Political Liberty in America. — The people in America were separated by a wide ocean from England, and what was more important, living as they did in a new country which they were subduing to their own use, they were separated from the hard-and-fast customs of England. An Englishman, unless he had unusual gifts, lived and died in the class to which he belonged. In America there was already greater equality, and there was a chance for every one to better his condition.

The farmer or the planter living on his own place could earn his livelihood and was not constantly reminded that there was somebody over him to whom he must pay taxes. On the

¹ Franklin's *Plan of Union* is given in No. 9 of *Old South Leaflets*.

contrary, he decided, either himself or by his representative, what taxes should be laid. It must be borne in mind constantly that the colonies had from the beginning performed the fundamental act of government in taxing themselves.

The people, in fact, had so long made their own laws, and for the most part chosen their own rulers, that they were independent in fact before they were independent in name. It was mainly in the seaport towns that people were reminded frequently of England and English laws.

10. Parties in England. — In England, meanwhile, a change had been going on, especially since the advent of George III.

1760. to the throne. For fifty years or so the control of the government had been practically in the hands of a group of persons, known in history as the Old Whigs. They made Parliament supreme and reduced the power of the crown.

Now Parliament was supposed to be the choice of the people; in reality it was the mouthpiece of a few powerful families. There was, however, one notable exception, — William Pitt,¹ called the Great Commoner, because the people at large instinctively felt that he was their champion and leader. Pitt was at the head of a rising party known as the New Whigs. Their aim was to make Parliament really represent the people instead of being a political machine used by the Old Whig group. This party, though a small one at first, was, in fact, fighting for constitutional liberty in England.

When George III. came to the throne, a new, or more strictly speaking, the revival of an old force in government was seen. As the Stuart kings had tried to establish a nearly absolute monarchy, so George III. was determined to be the real ruler of the country. He drew about him the Tory party, and undertook by means of his cabinet to manage the affairs of England and her colonies. It is needful to bear this in mind, if one would understand the attitude which America bore to England.

¹ See Macaulay's *Essay* on the Earl of Chatham (William Pitt).

11. The Treatment of America by England. — The English did not know much about America, or understand the people there. They knew there was a vast country beyond the sea which belonged to England, and that it was growing rich. They were like landlords who own distant farms, and care only to get as much profit as possible out of them. They regarded the colonies chiefly as a market for their goods, and the laws made by Parliament were designed to limit the trade of the colonies to English markets.

The furs brought in by the hunters, the fish caught by the fishermen, the pitch, tar, turpentine, and ship timbers from the forest, must all go to England. In the wild woods of Maine and New Hampshire no tree of more than twenty-four inches' diameter at a foot above the ground could be cut down except for a mast for one of the king's ships.

The laws also laid a duty upon exports and imports. The colonists could trade only with England, and they were required to pay a tax to the government upon all that they bought and all that they sold. If other countries wanted their goods, they must buy them of English merchants. The colonies could not even sell freely to one another.

Restriction of Manufactures. — Besides this, England forbade the colonies to carry on manufacturing except in a small way. They might take iron from the mine, but they must send it to England to be manufactured. They paid a tax when they sent their iron ore to England. They paid English merchants for carrying it, English manufacturers for working it, English merchants for bringing it back, and then another tax to the English government.

Thus English merchants and manufacturers grew rich, and were very careful to keep the colonies from trading with other countries. A host of officers were stationed in the American ports to collect the revenue and see that the laws were enforced. The colonists were impatient under these restraints; but they were prosperous, and paid the taxes out of their abundance.

The long extent of seacoast and the scattered population made it easy to smuggle goods into the country. In New England, especially, a great trade was carried on in this way and large fortunes were made, so that the complaints against the revenue laws were not so loud as they might otherwise have been.

12. Writs of Assistance. — There was nothing unusual in the attitude which England took toward the colonies. They belonged to her according to the theory of the time, and moreover she had just been waging a costly war. The French and Indian War was a part of the Seven Years' War between England and France. When peace came, England was mistress of America, but she was also heavily in debt. She looked around for means to pay the debt, and to lessen the burdens which Englishmen were bearing in England.

The American colonies offered the easiest means. The colonies had, it is true, taxed themselves to meet the expenses of the war in America; but the English government declared that the war had been fought mainly to benefit the colonies, and that the colonies ought to pay still more. It determined to enforce more strictly those laws of trade which had hitherto brought in so much revenue; but its intention was to use the revenue thus acquired mainly in America itself. The authority of the king's officers in the ports was increased, and they were armed with Writs of Assistance.

These were legal papers long in use in England, which gave those who held them power to enter any warehouse or dwelling, to search for smuggled goods which they might suspect to be hidden there. What rendered them especially obnoxious was that they were general in their nature, for they did not define the goods hunted for, and they were unlimited in time. Armed with one of these writs, an officer could go into any house, and he could require the assistance of citizens. He was not obliged either to return the paper to the court after he had made his search. He could use it again and again.

There is a saying, "An Englishman's house is his castle";

that is, he has rights there which the king is bound to respect. If these writs were given, the people knew that their houses would be entered by the king's officers on the merest suspicion. They said that the writs were illegal, and they determined to prove this in the courts.

In 1761 the collector of the port of Boston ordered his deputy in Salem to procure a Writ of Assistance from the court, to enable him to search for smuggled goods. Objection was raised that it was against the law to give the writ, and the judge decided to hear arguments before he issued it. James Otis, Jr., was advocate general of the province. It was his duty to defend the legality of the Writ of Assistance. He resigned his office rather than take that side, and appeared in behalf of the people. It was a famous trial; and Otis in his speech used the words, "Taxation without representation is tyranny."¹

13. "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny."—This sentence became a watchword in America during the exciting times which followed. The people meant by the phrase that they were as much Englishmen as those who lived in England. They said that for Parliament to tax them without giving them a voice in making the laws, either in Parliament or in their own assemblies, was to treat them as if they were a subject people.

The force of the watchword is more apparent if we consider that the American people were far more directly and completely represented in their assemblies than the English were in Parliament. The right to vote for members of Parliament was confined to certain classes in England, and the members elected did not in any special way represent the interests of the place where they were elected. In America, all but a few men had the right to vote, and the members elected to the assemblies spoke for their neighbors.

What irritated the Americans was the exercise of power

¹ Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous English author, was a staunch Tory, and wrote a pamphlet called *Taxation no Tyranny*.

over them by what they regarded almost as a foreign body, the English Parliament, and what they resented most was the exercise of that power in taxing them. They were ready to tax themselves in support of the crown; they would not submit to have that tax imposed on them by Parliament.

14. Resistance to the Stamp Act. — The first direct issue of importance between the colonies and England came when Parliament undertook to lay a tax to be collected by officers

appointed for the purpose. This was the Stamp Act, by which it was required that a stamp should be affixed to any deed, contract, bill of sale, will, and the like, made in America before it could be legal. These stamps were to be made in England, and sent over to America to be sold by the government officers. It was intended that the money thus raised should be used for the support of the king's troops in America.

The Stamp Act was passed by Parliament in March, 1765, and as soon as this was known in America, the colonies, from one end of the land to the other, were

full of indignation. Parliament, they said, might make laws to regulate the commerce of the empire, and so draw revenue from America; but it had no right to lay a direct tax like this. Only the colonial governments, elected by the people, could lay such a tax.

Virginia's Action. — In the Virginia legislature a famous orator, Patrick Henry, introduced resolutions, which declared that the people, and the people only, had the right to tax the people. They had this right, not as colonists, but as Englishmen. They had their own assemblies, where they could



Stamp.

Patrick Henry.¹

¹ Patrick Henry did not come of one of the rich and influential families of Virginia, but both his father, who was of Scotch birth, and his mother, who was Welsh by extraction, were persons of character and ability. Patrick Henry was born May 29, 1736, and until he was twenty-four gave no evidence of special intellectual force. Then he became a lawyer, and it was not long before he became noted in his neighborhood for his oratory. He made a great reputation in the Continental Congress, and was the first governor of the State of Virginia. He was one of the party that stood out against the adoption of the constitution. He died June 6, 1799. A convenient life of Patrick Henry is that by Moses Coit Tyler. A fuller one in two volumes has been written by William Wirt Henry.

vote the taxes. Many of the members objected to the resolutions, fearing that they were too emphatic. Patrick Henry replied with a powerful speech. In the midst of it he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third" — "Treason! treason!" cried some of the excited members. Henry waited a moment, then added solemnly — "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it."

15. The Stamp Act Congress. — The Massachusetts legislature proposed a general convention of all the colonists, which met at New York in October, 1765. Nine colonies took part in it, and sent their most distinguished men. For the first time the whole country had a common cause, and there was need that the people should consult together. Congress, as the convention was called, drew up a declaration of rights.

The people of the colonies, it said, had the same rights as the people of England. It was the right of Englishmen to be taxed only by their own consent. This consent was given through representatives. Englishmen had their Parliament; the people in the different colonies had their assemblies. The assemblies had the sole power to lay taxes in America. Congress demanded the repeal of the Stamp Act; and the people everywhere showed their determination to support this demand.

16. The Attitude of the Colonists. — They declared that until the stamp act was repealed, they would not import English goods. They held fairs to encourage home manufactures. They would not eat mutton, so that they might have more wool to spin. They would not wear mourning, because all mourning goods came from England. When the stamps were received in America it was impossible to compel the people to use them. The officers who were to supply them were sometimes made to resign, sometimes hanged or burned in effigy;¹

¹ In the face of a building at the corner of Washington and Essex streets in Boston is a carving which typifies the Liberty Tree which, in 1766, stood in a green at that spot. It was an ancient tree with spreading branches, and

copies of the Stamp Act were publicly burned, bells were tolled, flags hung at half mast; and in some towns mobs destroyed the houses of the revenue officers.¹

17. The Stamp Act in England. — The effect was felt in England, where a small party in Parliament upheld the colonists. In the House of Commons William Pitt uttered the memorable words: "The gentlemen tell us that America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest."

At that time it was the custom of the different colonies to employ agents, who lived in London and looked out for the interests of the colonies which sent them. Benjamin Franklin was one of these agents, and his words had great weight with the wise Englishmen.

The British ministry, before the act was passed, had asked Franklin how the people in America would regard it. He told them that the people would never submit to it. Now the ministry sent for Franklin again, and asked if he thought the people would pay for the damage done in the destruction of the stamped paper if Parliament would repeal the Stamp Act. Franklin replied with a characteristic story.

A Frenchman, he said, rushed into the street once with a red-hot poker in his hand, and met an Englishman. "Will you let me run this poker a foot into you?" screamed the Frenchman. "What!" said the Englishman. "Well, six inches, then?" "Never!" "Then will you pay me for the trouble and expense of heating the poker?" The Englishman walked off.

under its open-air meetings were held. From a branch of the tree hung an effigy of Andrew Oliver, the stamp officer; and a number of the Sons of Liberty, as a half-secret organization was called, took the effigy down at night and burned it in a bonfire before Oliver's house.

¹ Before the Stamp Act Congress, the term Americans had been applied generally to the natives of North America. It was now that on both sides of the Atlantic it began to be used of the inhabitants of the English colonies.

The Stamp Act was repealed, for the English government saw that it was impossible to enforce it. At the same time Parliament took care to say that it had the right to tax the colonies. In America people were overjoyed at the repeal of the act, and did not trouble themselves much about the claims which Parliament might set up in words.

March,
1766.

QUESTIONS.

What were the relations of the colonies to each other and to England? What is said of the roads? the modes of travel? the mails? the newspapers? What attempts at union had been made? Why did Franklin's plan of union fail? What stood in the way of a union? What was the difference between political life in America and in England? What had been the practice regarding taxation in America? Describe the political parties in England at this time. Who was the Great Commoner? What part had he already played in American affairs? [See Introduction, Chapter VI.] How did England look upon America? What laws were made restricting trade? What regulations in regard to manufactures were made? What acts had England formerly passed making the colonies dependent on England? [See Introduction, Section 49.] Why were English revenue officers in American ports? Why was it not considered disreputable to smuggle? How had the colonists paid a share of the expenses of the French and Indian War? How did England propose further to relieve herself? What were Writs of Assistance? Why were they obnoxious? What was done by James Otis? What is meant by the words "Taxation without representation is tyranny"? What was the difference between popular government in America and England? What were the stamps, and what use was made of them? What was the American ground of resistance to the Stamp Act? Tell what Patrick Henry did and said. Why did a Congress assemble in 1765, and what did it do? What did the people do, and how did they treat the officers who sold the stamps? What did William Pitt say? What story did Franklin tell, and how did it apply to the case? What was finally done, and why?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Why are taxes needed in government? How are they laid in America to-day, and who collects them? What is the real difference between a postage stamp and a revenue stamp? How were the stamps in 1765 affixed to papers? What revenue stamps are now used in the United

States ? When were they imposed by the government to a large extent and cheerfully accepted by the people ? Tell the story of Brutus and Cæsar ; of Cromwell and Charles I. What word is in common use to-day to express a systematic refusal to trade with a particular person ? In what country did it originate ? How were the stamps fixed to papers ? What were the leading articles of manufacture in the colonies at this time ? Did the colonists really desire to be represented in Parliament ? What then was the meaning of "no taxation without representation" ? In what way was this phrase a watchword of William Pitt as well as of Patrick Henry and James Otis ?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

Narrative of a journey from Boston to Philadelphia in 1763.

A sketch of the life of William Pitt.

How the colonists in some cities set about defeating the Stamp Act ?

A sketch of the life of James Otis.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That England was justified in drawing revenue from America for the payment of government expenses in America.

Resolved, That the colonists were justified in smuggling, under the navigation laws.

Resolved, That England was acting under her constitutional rights in passing the Stamp Act.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST RESISTANCE.

Quartered. Given quarters or houseroom among the people.

East India Company. A corporation in England, formed for trading with the East Indies. It laid the foundation of English rule in India.

Common. A piece of ground in a

town, left uninclosed, for the common use of all the people in the town.

Outskirts. The border of a town.

Pär'apet. A fortification, breast high.

Ticönderö'ga.

18. The Quartering of Troops. — The object of the Stamp Act had been to raise money for the support of the king's troops in America. That object still remained, and Parliament now passed an act by which the colonies were to quarter the troops

sent among them. It also imposed certain duties on
1767. colonial trade and declared that the revenue from these duties should be used to pay the salaries of officers of the crown in America. It reaffirmed the legality of Writs of Assistance. The attitude of Parliament was clearly one of tighter control of the colonies.

To make this more evident, a colonial department was made a distinct branch of the government. Pitt had grown feeble and had withdrawn practically from power. He had been created Earl of Chatham. The ministry, headed now by the brilliant Townshend and a little later by the dull and obstinate Lord North, was a Tory ministry. The old Whigs were out of office, and the party of new Whigs, though vigorous, was small. There was no quarrel between the king's ministry and Parliament, but the colonies for some time maintained the position that they were loyal subjects of the king and resisted only the illegal acts of Parliament.

The Boston Massacre. — The principal places affected by these acts were New York and Boston. The Assembly of New York refused to make provision for the troops, and Parliament ordered the Assembly to close. Massachusetts sent a circular letter to the other colonies, proposing a petition to the king. This petition protested against acts of Parliament which taxed them without their consent. The answer of the king's ministers was to send four regiments of soldiers to Boston. The people there, both in town meeting and in the legislature, demanded that the troops should be withdrawn.

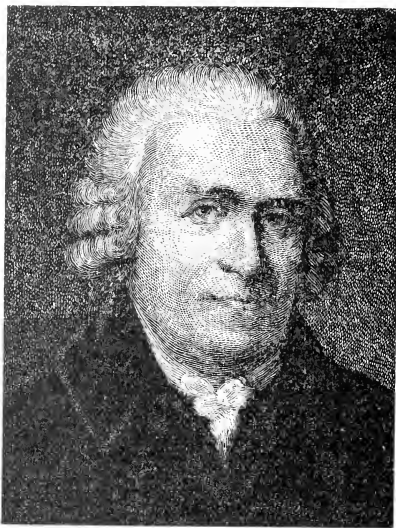
They were a constant cause of irritation; and the petty quarrels between the soldiers and townspeople broke out finally into a fight in which some of the townspeople were killed. This fight, which goes by the name of the ^{March 5,} ~~1770.~~ Boston Massacre, produced an intense feeling of anger. For several years the 5th of March was a day for a great town meeting, and an oration by some Boston patriot. By such meetings and addresses the people kept alive the memory of a wrong, and encouraged one another to resist tyranny.

Samuel Adams,¹ a popular leader who had great influence, especially among the workingmen of Boston, headed the citizens, the day after the Boston massacre, in a demand for the removal of the troops. The governor, Thomas Hutchinson,²

¹ Samuel Adams was born in Boston, September 16, 1722. His grandfather and the grandfather of John Adams were brothers. Samuel Adams was graduated at Harvard College, and the subject of his commencement piece was significant, "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." He was distinctly the mouth-piece of the citizens of Boston in their dispute with the authorities. He was a member of the Continental Congress, and afterward Governor of Massachusetts. He died October 2, 1803. His statue stands in Dock Square, Boston, and an excellent life has been written by James K. Hosmer.

² Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams were on opposite sides in politics, and as Adams represented the new party springing up which was satisfied finally with nothing short of independence, Hutchinson was the ablest of those who held by the Crown, and finally was compelled to leave the country. He was an honest, unselfish man, and no one can rightly understand the position of those who tried in America to keep the British empire intact, without becoming acquainted with Hutchinson. Mr. Hosmer has written his life also.

seeing the entire community aroused, was wise enough to order the troops to be removed to the fort in the harbor, called the Castle. But the people were fast coming to look on the English government as hostile, and Adams, who was one of the first to see that entire independence was logically the end, proposed a committee in Boston town meeting to correspond with other towns on the affairs of the people. This practice was taken up



Samuel Adams.

by the towns, and later by the colony with other colonies, and committees of correspondence became an important agency in organizing the people.

19. The Tax on Tea.

— England now committed a blunder which brought affairs to a crisis. The colonies, by their firmness, had compelled Parliament to remove one tax after another; that on tea alone remained. The people accordingly refused to buy tea, although formerly they had bought

large quantities. The East India Company found itself with seventeen million pounds of tea in its English warehouses, which it could not sell. The failure of the company would greatly impoverish the king, who owned shares in it. It became necessary to do something to relieve the company.

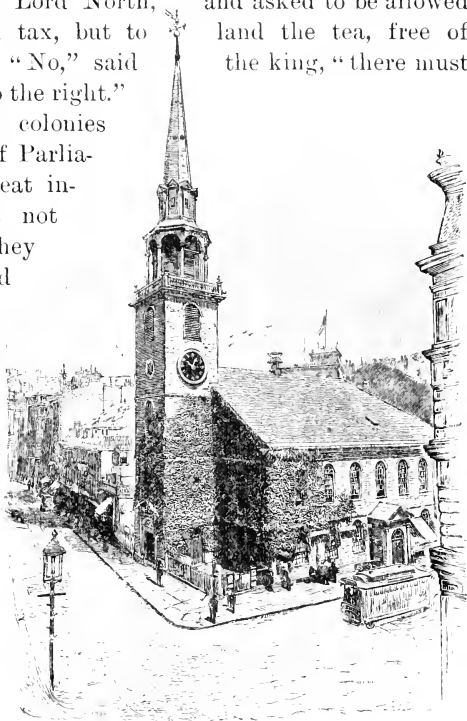
Accordingly Lord North, the king's chief adviser, persuaded Parliament to pass an act taking off the tax of sixpence a pound which the tea paid in England. It was supposed this would so reduce the price of tea that the Americans would

not mind the tax of threepence per pound which was still to be paid in America, and would buy largely. The company was shrewder than Lord North, and asked to be allowed to pay the English tax, but to land the tea, free of duty, in America. "No," said the king, "there must be one tax, to keep up the right."

As soon as the colonies learned of the act of Parliament, there was great indignation. It was not cheap tea that they wanted, but untaxed tea. They saw the English government taking off the tax in England, but keeping it on in America. They knew that this was intended by the king as a declaration of his right to tax the colonies. When the vessels bringing the tea reached America, the citizens in

many of the ports compelled the captains to sail back with their cargoes to England.

The Boston Tea Party.—In Boston the royalist governor attempted to secure the landing of the tea. The citizens, under the lead of Sam Adams, as he was popularly called, would not permit it. For twenty days the committee of the people strove to compel the governor to send back the vessels. Faneuil Hall, where the town meetings were held, was



Old South Church.

1773.

crowded day after day with people who met to consult. At last, in the twilight of a December day, when the people were gathered in the Old South Church, because Faneuil Hall was not large enough, a messenger came from the governor with his final refusal.

Sam Adams stood up and declared, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." A voice in the gallery called out, "Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" It was at
 Dec. 16,
 1773. Griffin's Wharf¹ that the tea ships lay. Immediately the people poured out of the church and hurried after a party of young men disguised as Indians, who set up a war whoop. These men took possession of the vessels, seized the tea chests, broke them open, and poured the contents into the harbor.

20. The Boston Port Bill.—As soon as the news reached England, Lord North brought into Parliament a bill, which was passed, ordering that after the first of June no person should load or unload any ship in the port of Boston until the town apologized, and paid for the tea which had been destroyed. The Boston Port Bill, as it was called, was the punishment which the British government inflicted on the rebellious town.

To close the port of Boston was to strike a severe blow at the prosperity of the town and of the entire colony. When the act

June 1,
 1774. went into operation, the bells were tolled and the people hung out mourning. Throughout the country there was the greatest sympathy shown for Massachusetts.

The other colonies urged the Bostonians to remain steadfast, and showed their sympathy by gifts of money and provisions.

21. The Loss of Governmental Rights.—When the port of Boston was closed, a British fleet lay at the entrance, and regiments of British soldiers occupied the town. A still severer blow was struck at the liberties of the people. Parliament had passed two acts for the regulation of the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

¹ A tablet is inserted in the wall of a building on Atlantic Avenue where the wharf formerly stood.

By these acts nearly all the power was lodged in the hands of the governor and of officers appointed by the king or governor. The people could hold town meetings only once a year. The courts had power to send prisoners to England or to other colonies for trial, instead of being required to try them before juries of their neighbors.

The people now knew that they had something more to struggle for than freedom from taxation. They were to contend for rights dear to every free Englishman, and they proceeded at once to take measures to assert those rights. Since Parliament chose to take from them their customary government, they would make a new government.

The people in Massachusetts, as in the other colonies, had been used to acting according to law. So now, when they rebelled against the government, they went about the business not as if they were breaking laws, but as if they were keeping them. They were forbidden to have more than one town meeting a year. In Boston, accordingly, they had only one, but by adjourning from time to time they made it last all the year.

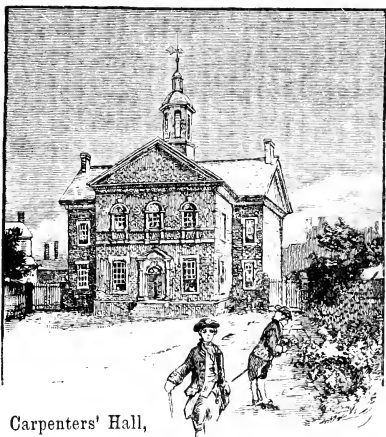
22. The Provincial and the Continental Congress. — General Gage, the new governor, who had been sent over from England, refused to recognize the legislature chosen by the people. Thereupon the legislature formed itself into the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and withdrew from Boston to Concord. This Congress was regarded by the people of the colony as the real government. It appointed a Committee of Safety, which met frequently and had power to act in any emergency.

The colonies all had committees of correspondence, and kept one another informed by letter of what was going on. Massachusetts now invited the other colonies to send delegates to a congress at Philadelphia. This is known as the First Continental Congress. The name is significant of national feeling. All the colonies were represented except Georgia. They drew up an address to the king, setting forth their grievances, and formed an agreement to

September,
1774.

refuse to carry on any trade with Great Britain until their wrongs should be righted.

23. Lexington and Concord.—The towns of Massachusetts had always had their militia companies. Now these were newly organized, under patriot captains, and an active training



Carpenters' Hall,
where the First Con-
gress met.

and drill began. General Gage, on the other hand, began to move his soldiers back and forth, to fortify Boston, and to secure the cannon and powder which might be in the province. The

Provincial Con-
gress had col-
lected military

stores in Concord. General Gage, who had made unsuccessful attempts in other directions, planned

a secret night excursion to Concord to destroy the stores. But he was in the midst of a hostile and vigilant people, and his plans were discovered in season to warn the Committee of Safety.

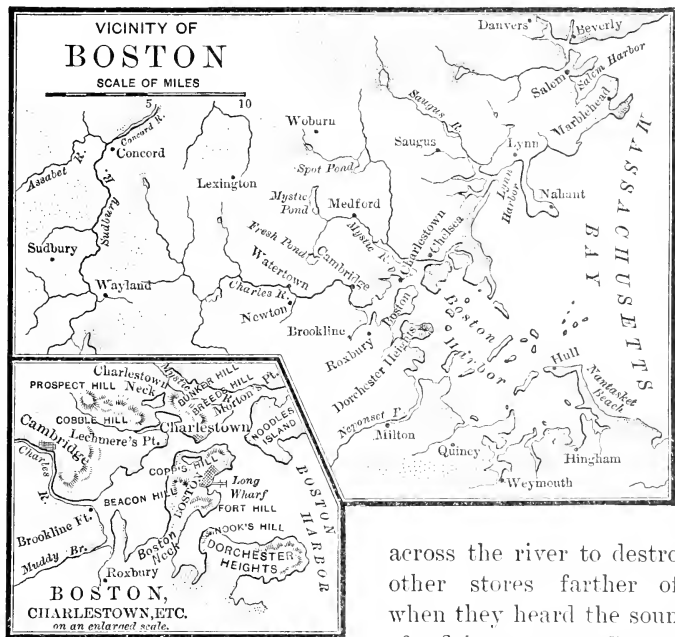
Among the means taken by the patriots to warn the country, was a lantern signal hung from a church tower in Boston.¹ Messengers rode by night through the country, carrying the news that British soldiers were marching to Concord, and people took down their muskets and hurried to join their neighbors.

Thus when the British troops, early in the morning of the 19th of April, reached Lexington, two thirds of the way to Concord, they found a small body of countrymen, under Captain Parker, drawn up on the common to dispute the way. Captain Parker had given orders

¹ This incident has been graphically set forth in Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride."

not to fire unless they were fired upon. The British troops called upon the rebels to disperse, and opened fire on them, killing seven men.

The little band of patriots retreated slowly, returning the fire as they went; the British kept on to Concord, where they began to destroy the military stores. A detachment was sent



across the river to destroy other stores farther off, when they heard the sound of firing near Concord

Bridge, and quickly turned back. The Americans had attacked the troops left to guard the bridge.

The whole countryside had been roused. The news of the attack at Lexington had spread like wildfire. Companies of minute men, so called because they were to be ready for movement at a minute's notice, were pouring into Concord and joined in the attack of the British, who were overpowered by the number of countrymen.

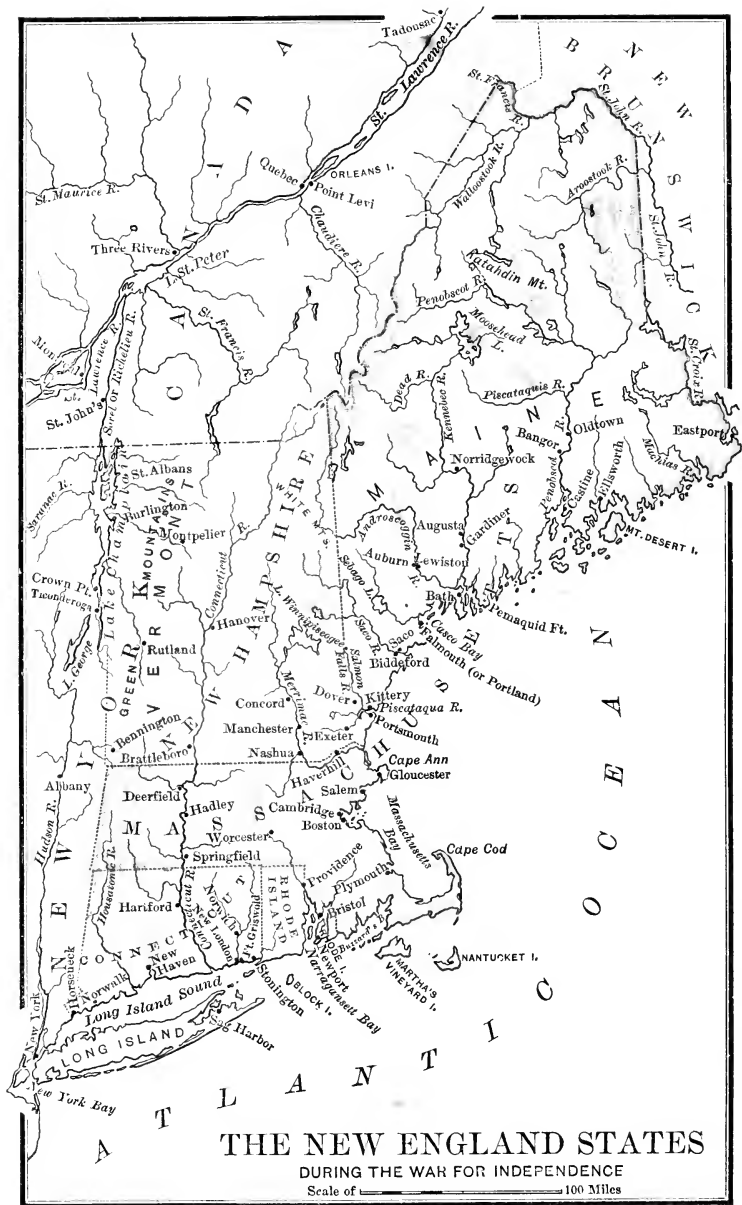
The British forces began a retreat toward Boston, bearing their dead and wounded with them. All the way, from behind stone walls, and from houses, the angry farmers harassed them with shot. They did not desist until the troops had crossed Charlestown Neck at sunset, and were safe under the guns of the British vessels.

The news of the fight traveled swiftly. The colonial militia had attacked the king's troops. There were no railways or telegraphs in those days, but every man sent word to his neighbor, and one town rallied the next. The farmers left their plows, and the artisans their tools. They took their guns and horses, and marched straight to Boston. The women were full of patriotism. A mother had two boys, one nineteen, the other sixteen, years of age. Her husband was at sea. She gave her eldest boy his fowling piece; and since the duck and goose shot were too small, she cut up her pewter spoons and hammered the pieces into slugs. She had only a rusty sword for the younger boy, but she sent them both off to join the men.

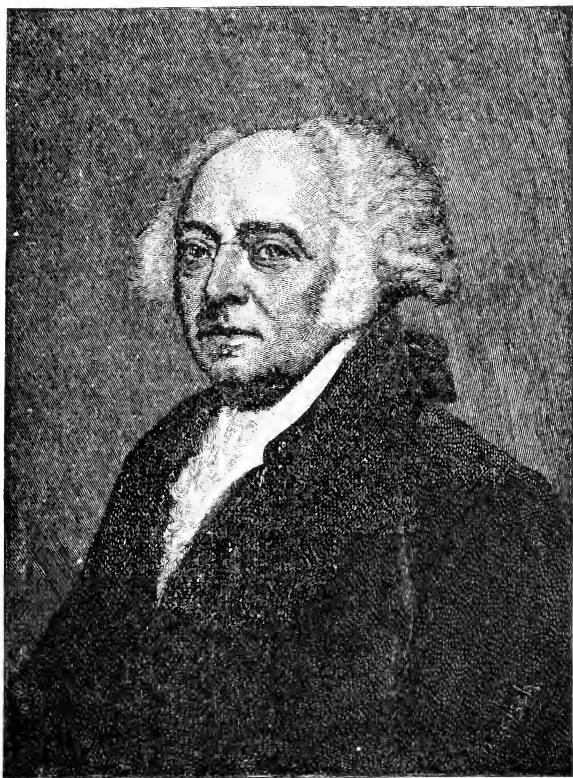
The Patriots' Rally. — All through the 19th of April and the night that followed, the tramp of men and horses was heard on the roads. They came from every quarter; and on the morning of the 20th a great company had gathered at Cambridge, upon the outskirts of Charlestown, and at Roxbury. Boston was surrounded by camps of patriots. Every day their numbers were swelled by newcomers. Each company of soldiers chose its own officers, and was under the general orders of the colony to which it belonged. The oldest-commissioned and most experienced officer was Artemas Ward, who commanded the Massachusetts troops at Cambridge.

Upon a monument which stands near the scene of the little battle of Concord, are four lines from a poem written by the American poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson :

“ By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to the April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.”



24. The Second Continental Congress.— While these things were going on, the Continental Congress was again in session in Philadelphia. The delegates to the Congress were by no means



John Adams.

ready to separate the colonies from England. They were bent only on maintaining the resistance which had been made until England should right their wrongs, and they clung as long as they could to the theory that Parliament was undertaking to govern them contrary to the laws of the empire, but that an

appeal to the king and to their friends in England would bring about a change of policy. They were fortified in this belief by the energetic support which they received from a small party in Parliament.

The resistance to the king's troops had been most open in a single locality, but there was a determined spirit of resistance everywhere. It was clear that the colonies must act together if they would accomplish anything. So when the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, after Lexington and Concord, asked the Continental Congress to take charge of the army which was gathered about Boston from other colonies than Massachusetts, the Continental Congress did assume the general control, and the colonies took together the important step of raising troops and money to resist England.

John Adams¹ was a delegate from Massachusetts, and on his nomination George Washington² of Virginia was
 June 15,
 1775. unanimously elected general and commander-in-chief of the Army of the United Colonies.³ He immediately set out for Cambridge, and on his way heard an important piece of news.

¹ John Adams was born at Braintree, Massachusetts, October 19, 1735. At the outbreak of the war for independence he was a lawyer. He was a man of sturdy nature who was willing to do unpopular things if he thought they were right; he defended the soldiers engaged in the Boston Massacre, for instance. He will be met later in our history, for he was a conspicuous statesman and became the second president of the Union. Some of the most animated accounts of the historic days in which he lived are to be found in the *Familiar Letters of John and Abigail Adams*, Abigail Adams being his wife, who stayed at home much of the time that John Adams was in the Continental Congress. His life in the *American Statesmen* series is by John T. Morse, Jr.

² There are many easily accessible lives of Washington. I have written one, *George Washington, an Historical Biography*. There is one in two volumes in *American Statesmen* series, by Henry Cabot Lodge, and an illustrated one by Woodrow Wilson. Washington Irving's *Life of Washington* is one of the fullest.

³ As the Congress was called continental, so the army was called the continental army and the paper money issued by Congress, continental currency. The word is significant as indicating that the people had caught at the idea of a comprehension of all the colonies in one great nation.

25. Battle of Bunker Hill.— On the evening of the 16th of June the Committee of Safety had sent troops to Charlestown, for they had heard that the British meant to occupy that place. There in the night they had thrown up fortifications upon a hill commanding Boston. The part of the hill nearest Boston was called Breed's Hill; behind it rose Bunker Hill. The British had been unwilling to make an attack upon the camps about Boston, for that meant open war; but such a movement as this could not be overlooked.

As soon (on the morning of the 17th) as they discovered the Americans intrenched, they sent troops across the river from Boston to dislodge them. They were very confident of quickly routing these raw troops with their regular soldiers. The Americans, behind a hastily built redoubt and a rail fence padded with new-mown hay, awaited the coming of the British as they marched up the hill. They had orders not to fire till they could see the whites of their enemies' eyes. Not a soldier stirred till the British were within fifty yards. Then, as the order was given, the Americans poured a deadly volley into the ranks. The redcoats, used to war, stood their ground for a moment, and then, seized with panic, rushed down the hill. Three times the British regulars were ordered up the hill. Twice they were driven back by the countrymen, who from behind their slight fortifications coolly fired upon the redcoats. Then the Americans' ammunition gave out; and when the third attack came, they fired stones from their guns and slowly retreated, leaving the British in possession.¹

The battle of Bunker Hill had been fought. The Americans, led by Prescott² and Putnam,³ had lost their brave gen-

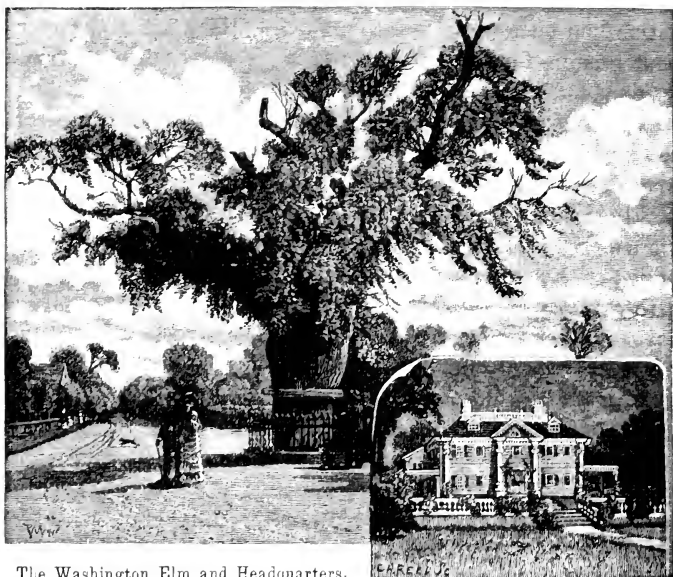
¹ Read Dr. Holmes's dramatic poem "Grandmother's Story of the Battle of Bunker Hill."

² Colonel Prescott was grandfather of the historian.

³ Israel Putnam, who had fought in the French and Indian War, was a farmer in Pomfret, Connecticut. When the news of Lexington reached him he was plowing a field. He took the horse out of the plow, jumped on his back, and leaving orders for the militia company to follow him, was off at once for the scene of action.

eral, Warren, and about four hundred and fifty men had been killed, wounded, or captured. The British loss was more than twice as great. It was a bold movement of the Americans, and the colonial militia had stood the fire of the British regulars.

June 17,
1775.



The Washington Elm and Headquarters.

26 Washington takes Command. — When Washington heard this, he was greatly encouraged. On the 3d day of July he took command of the American army, beneath an elm tree still standing by Cambridge Common.

July 3,
1775.

He found a crowd of brave, undisciplined¹ soldiers, ill provided

¹ How undisciplined they were may be seen by an incident which a visitor to the camp reports. He overheard this dialogue between a captain and one of the privates under him :

“Bill,” said the captain, “go and bring a pail of water for the men.”

“I shan’t,” said Bill. “It’s your turn now, captain : I got it last time.” But Washington soon saw that there was stuff in the sturdy men. He wrote to Congress : “I have a sincere pleasure in observing that there are materials for

with arms, ammunition, and provisions. His first business was to organize them into an army, while he kept watch of the British in Boston.

The British army did not come out from the town; but some of the vessels which blockaded the harbor were sent down the coast and burned the town of Falmouth,

now Portland, Maine. This was a direct act of war. It did much to weaken the lingering hope of some Americans that the trouble was confined to Boston, and that there would be no general war.

Oct. 17,
1775.

27. Movements in Other Directions. —

Meantime the Americans had not been idle elsewhere. Ethan Allen, at the head of a party of mountaineers, surprised the British garrison at Fort Ticonderoga, and captured that fort as well as

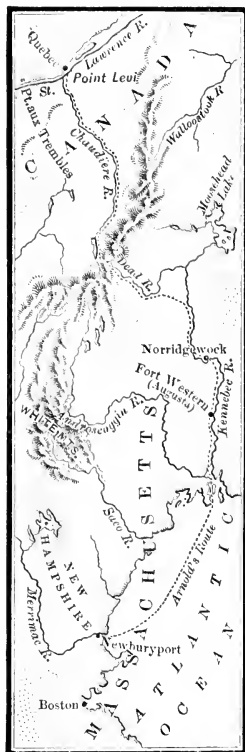
May 10,
1775.

Crown Point. These were on the old route to Canada; and men who had fought in the French and Indian War were eager to get possession of that country.

General Montgomery moved down Lake Champlain and captured Montreal. Benedict Arnold secured Washington's approval,

Nov. 13,
1775.

and with some of the forces which were besieging Boston, made a terrible march through the wilderness of Maine to the St. Lawrence. He followed the plan Wolfe



Arnold's Route.

a good army, a great number of able-bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage." Washington's account of the army as he found it at Cambridge is reprinted from his letters in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 47.

had adopted, and occupied the Plains of Abraham. Arnold reached Quebec just as Montgomery entered Montreal.

It was intended that the two armies should unite; but Arnold could not hold his position, and retreated to a less exposed place. After Montgomery arrived from Montreal, an attack was made upon Quebec; but it was disastrous. Montgomery was killed, the British army was reënforced, and the Americans were obliged to abandon Canada.



Edmund Burke. Born 1729; died 1797.

28. England's Reply to America. — If any still hoped that England would yield, they were convinced that the hope was vain when they heard how the address of Congress to the king had been received. The king returned no answer, but notified Parliament that the colonies were in a state of rebellion. He announced that he should at once increase his forces in America and crush the rebellion.

And yet the cause of the Americans was upheld by some of the greatest Englishmen of the day, who perceived clearly that the cause was one of free government, and that England was deeply concerned. Edmund Burke, one of the most farsighted statesmen of the time, spoke earnestly in Parliament against the policy the king was pursuing.¹ The Earl of Chatham, also, in the House of Lords, though failing in strength

¹ See especially his great speech on Conciliation with the Colonies, delivered March 22, 1775.

of body was unceasing in his opposition to the repressive policy.¹

29. A Union Flag and the Siege of Boston raised. — On the first of January, 1776, Washington caused a flag to be adopted by his army, with thirteen red and white stripes and the British union jack in the corner. Early in March, Washington was ready to drive the British out of Boston. He now had cannon, which had been dragged over the snow from Ticonderoga, and he proceeded to occupy Dorchester Heights, overlooking the harbor. General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage, saw that he must fight at a great disadvantage or abandon the town. He gathered his forces, took to the fleet, and sailed away. With him went those families which had remained loyal to the king. The siege of Boston was raised. There was now open war between the two countries; but after this Massachusetts scarcely knew the presence of soldiers. It became the policy of England to strike at the heart of the colonies.²

¹ Franklin wrote to a friend in England in October, 1775: "Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed a hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign, which is £20,000 a head; and at Bunker Hill she gained a mile of ground, all of which she lost again by our taking post on Ploughed Hill. During the same time 60,000 children have been born in America." From these data he would have a friend calculate "the time and expense necessary to kill us all and conquer the whole of our territory."

² One of Cooper's novels, *Lionel Lincoln*, has to do with this period.

QUESTIONS.

The Stamp Act having been repealed, what action did Parliament take to raise revenue in America? What was its general attitude toward the colonies? Who controlled the action of Parliament? What was the effect of sending regiments to Boston? Name the two Massachusetts men of prominence who played opposite parts at this time. What were committees of correspondence? Narrate the steps that led to the tax on tea. How was the act of Parliament received in America? What took place in Boston? What punishment did government inflict on Boston for its action? What further policy did Parliament pursue in support of its authority? How did the people of Massachusetts meet the situation?

What gave rise to the first Continental Congress? Narrate the events which occurred at Lexington and Concord. Describe the incidents of the retreat of the British. What effect did the affair have on the country people? Where was the chief camp of the patriots formed? Repeat the lines on the Concord monument. What was going on at this time in Philadelphia? What was the effect upon Congress of the fighting in Massachusetts? How did Washington come to be conspicuous in Congress? Narrate the events of the battle of Bunker Hill. When did Washington get news of the battle, and on what day did he take command of the army? How did the British forces further estrange the people? What forts did Ethan Allen and his men capture? Narrate the attempt of Montgomery and Arnold to capture Canada. What was England's reply to the address of Congress? What was the end of the siege of Boston?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What were the Mecklenburg resolutions? How did the personal characteristics of George III. enter into the great question of governing America? Sam Adams is said to have originated the caucus; what was the origin of the word? State the plan of conciliation which Burke proposed. Was the British attack on Bunker Hill well planned from a military point of view? What is the story of the Boston boys having their coat spoiled by British soldiers? What were the non-importation agreements made by the colonists after the repeal of the Stamp Act?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

An account of the meeting at the Old South, December 16, 1773

A prose version of the warning of Lexington by Paul Revere.

Life in Boston during the siege.

Imaginary letter from a British soldier in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Imaginary letter of a minute man in the battle of Bunker Hill.

An account of the retreat of the British from Concord to Charlestown.

A sketch of the life of Israel Putnam.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That Parliament had the same right to control the colonies that the United States Congress has to govern the territories.

Resolved, That the tax of threepence per pound on tea should have been paid by the Americans.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Moultrie (moo'trī).

Kosciusko (kos-sī-ŭs'kō).

Kāl̄b. Sometimes *De Kalb*.

Steuben (stū'ben).

Pulas'ki.

Marquis de la Fayette (mar-keē' dē-lā-fā-yēt'). But the English form (*mar'quis*) is commonly used, and the French name written as one word, Lafayette.

30. Movements of the British. — When General Howe left Boston he carried his army to Halifax; but it was well understood that his plan was to take possession of New York. The patriots there had been busy, ever since the fight at Concord, raising an army, and throwing up fortifications. Washington hurried forward his troops, and prepared to defend the town, and the mouth of the Hudson.

Meanwhile the British had sent an expedition to secure the Southern colonies. The fleet appeared off the harbor of Charleston, but the people erected defenses with great energy. When the British made their attack, Colonel Moultrie, commanding at Sullivan's Island, gallantly repulsed them. They could not capture the town, and so sailed away for New York, where they were to join Howe.

June 28,
1776.

31. The Formation of States. — All this time the Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Heretofore each colony had been governed in the name of the king; courts were held and the laws were executed in his name. Now that there was open rebellion against the king's authority, all this must be changed. The people had their legislatures; they had all the machinery of government; and by the advice of the Continental Congress the colonies quickly formed themselves into States.

South Carolina was the first to adopt a constitution for its government. It did this with the distinct purpose of carrying on the government only till there should be reconciliation with England, for which it still hoped. Rhode Island was the first publicly to declare its absolute independence of the crown. Immediately afterwards the Continental Congress advised all the colonies to set up their own governments. Before the close of 1776, six of the colonies had adopted State constitutions. Three others did the same in 1777. Two only, Connecticut and Rhode Island, continued into the next century to carry on their governments under the old royal charters; but they omitted the king's name from legal and business papers.

March,
1776.

May 16,
1776.

32. The Question of Independence.—Some of the colonies when they became transformed into States instructed their delegates in Congress to declare for independence. Still there were many persons who clung to the hope that difficulties might yet be settled, and the old relations with England restored. One of the most effective arguments employed in favor of independence was a small pamphlet by Thomas Paine, to which he gave the name *Common Sense*.¹

On the seventh day of June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, acting under instructions from Virginia, submitted this resolution to Congress, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

Thereupon Congress agreed to consider definitely the question of independence, but it took a recess of three weeks to give the delegates an opportunity to go back to the people and

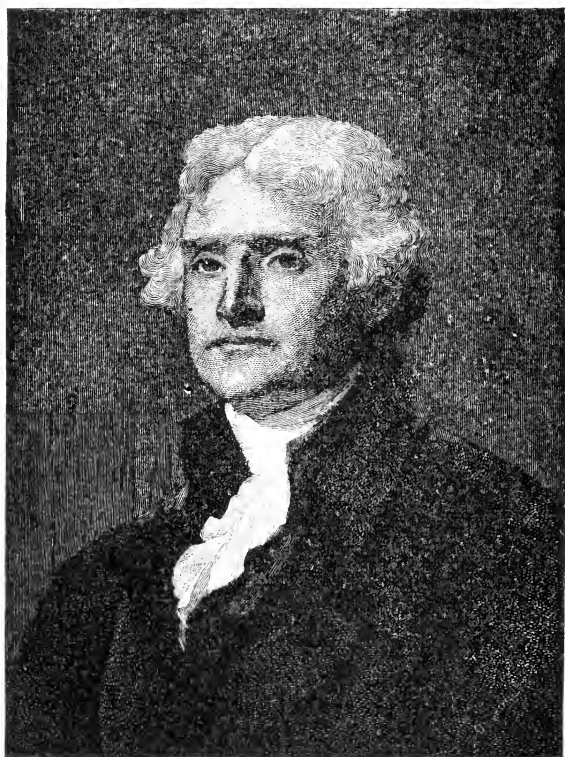
¹ The pamphlet was published anonymously. It had a good deal of foolish abuse, but it argued that common sense should lead the Americans to seek independence, and it pointed out that inasmuch as the Americans acknowledged the king, though they were fighting to resist Parliament, no foreign nation would interfere in their behalf. The essay was written in plain, direct English, which made it very popular and intelligible.

learn what was the general judgment. When the members returned to their seats, there was no longer any doubt what course should be pursued. In different parts of the country, in town meetings, county meetings, and provincial congresses, resolutions were passed declaring that the time had come for the colonies to separate from Great Britain.

33. The Declaration of Independence. — The delegates were by no means unanimous. There were able men who still urged more moderation. John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, advised a more solid confederation first. But the great fact remained that all the colonies had practically become independent. On the second day of July, 1776, a final vote was taken, and Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence, written mainly by Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia.¹ It declared what were the natural rights of all men; it recited the acts of George III., King of Great Britain, by which he had abused his authority over the colonies and deprived them of their rights and authority. It reminded the world how patiently the colonies had borne their injuries. It told of the petitions they had addressed to the king, which had no answer except new injuries. It showed that the colonies had appealed, not to the king only, but to their brethren, the people of England; but that all had been in vain. Therefore, as representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general congress assembled, the delegates published this declaration of the independence of the States.

¹ Thomas Jefferson was born in Albemarle Co., Virginia, April 2, 1743. He was a graduate of William and Mary College, where he was a hard student as well as a good horseman and hunter, and what was less common, an excellent performer on the violin. His father died in his early manhood, and Jefferson came into the management of a large estate. He took his seat with Washington in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and on becoming a public man he made a resolution which, fifty years after, he said he had always kept, "never to engage while in public office in any kind of enterprise for the improvement of my fortune." His marriage brought him still more wealth. In January, 1779, he was governor of Virginia, and this history refers to him more than once. He was a man of scientific habit of mind, and one of his most useful contributions was our decimal system of coinage. See Morse's *Thomas Jefferson*.

They appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world, and ended with these words: "With a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

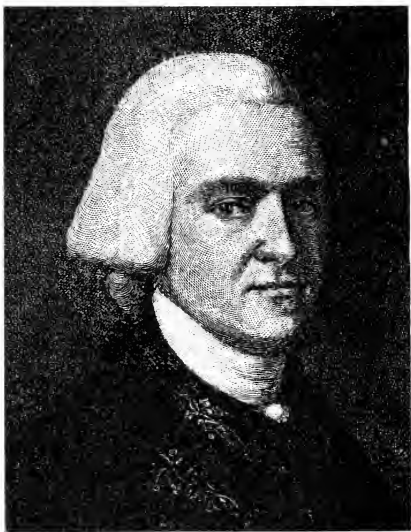


Thomas Jefferson.

The Fourth of July, 1776. — The Declaration was agreed to on the 4th of July. Later in the session it was signed by John Hancock of Massachusetts, President of Congress, and by fifty-five delegates from the thirteen colonies. Every man who

signed it knew that if independence were not secured he would be in peril of being hanged as a rebel and traitor.¹ A great crowd was gathered before the State House in Philadelphia, where Congress held its sessions. From the balcony the Declaration of Independence was read, and the bell in the tower rang out the news.

From that time the State House began to be called Independence Hall. The 4th of July has ever since been celebrated as the birthday of the nation. One important consequence of the formal Declaration of Independence was that it divided the people of the country into patriots and loyalists. No one could any longer persuade himself that he was a loyal

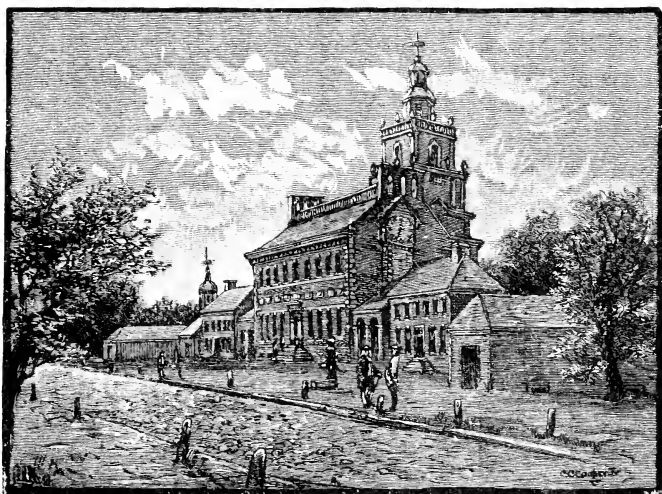


John Hancock. Born 1737; died 1793.

subject of Great Britain when he was making war upon her.

34. The Loyalists. — In the eyes of Great Britain those who called themselves patriots in America were rebels; the real patriots were the loyalists. Many of these were sincere well-

¹ John Hancock's signature was a very bold one, and he said the King of England could read it without spectacles. When the members were about to sign, Hancock said: "We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together." "Yes," said Franklin, "we must indeed all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately." One of the signatures, that of Charles Carroll of Maryland, was that of a partly palsied hand and looked thus rather trembling. The story goes that some one jocosely remarked this, and Carroll added to the signature "of Carrollton" that there might be no mistake as to who he was.



Independence Hall, 1776.

wishers to America when they held by the crown. To them, it seemed as if the great British empire were being dismembered by the unwise action of their hot-headed countrymen. They had no wish to have an independent nation; they were content to remain as they were. Others among them took a narrow view, and thought only of their personal comfort and fortune. Nearly all suffered the loss of property, and many became exiles.¹

35. The Formation of a Confederation.—The constitutions which the States formed were afterward revised from time to time; but they all had one feature in common: whereas the

¹ The diaries of some who went to London are pathetic with the expression of homesickness for America, while some show a bitterness of feeling. The most important account of the loyalists is to be found in Sabine's *American Loyalists*. Long after the Revolution there lived two old ladies in Boston, who were daughters of Mather Byles, a loyalist minister. To the day of their death they made believe as hard as they could that there had been no Revolution, and when King William IV. came to the throne in 1830, they wrote to him telling him he still had loyal subjects in America. On the 4th of July they closed their blinds and tied them with black ribbons.

charters of the colonies derived their authority from the king, the constitutions of the States recognized the supreme authority of the people. The States proceeded to manage their own affairs very much as the colonies had done, each independently of the others. But they needed a common power in dealing with the enemy, and a common authority in treating with other nations.

The Continental Congress was the most convenient means at first. It had, by common consent, brought all the colonial troops into one army, and it had made a Declaration of Independence in the name of all the colonies.¹ It was clear that Congress could act and speak with power only when all the States were agreed. If they disagreed, there was no higher authority which could keep them together. The war and a common enemy now held them in union; but that could not last, and Congress recommended that the States should form a confederation.

It drew up thirteen **articles of confederation**, which, when accepted by all, were to be the rules by which the States should be governed in what related to their common interests.

It did not propose that the Confederation should have anything to do with the management of those affairs Nov. 15,
1777. in each State which concerned only the citizens of that State. To the Confederation they gave the name of the United States of America. The United States was to treat with foreign powers; declare war; appoint officers in the army and navy; direct military operations; levy taxes; fix the standard of money, weights, and measures; manage Indian affairs; and establish post offices.

This was in name very much the same authority which the

¹ Congress emphasized the union of the colonies by providing a symbol in the form of our present flag, which was developed out of the one raised by Washington when he was in command of the army in Cambridge. It retained the stripes, but in place of the British union jack it represented the thirteen states by thirteen stars. This was the final mark of complete independence. The flag has remained the same ever since, except that a new star has been added for every new State. Congress adopted the flag June 14, 1777.

king and Parliament of Great Britain had formerly exercised in the colonies; but it was not the same in power. The States which had just rebelled against the tyranny of the king were very careful not to give the Confederation or Congress too much power; all the States together should not compel any one State to act against its will. Thus, though they called these articles the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, they had really formed only a league of friendship.

It was the first and most important step toward real union; and the name which they chose, the United States of America, came at last to have a full meaning. At first it meant only that the several States in America were united in a common cause against a common enemy. The articles were accepted by eleven of the States in 1778, and by the thirteenth in 1781.

Attempts were made to persuade Canada to join the Confederation. But the Canadian people were chiefly Frenchmen, who had little in common with their English neighbors. They had never governed themselves, and made no great objection now to being governed by England.

36. Diplomatic Relations with Europe. — Before the Declaration of Independence had been made, there had been in Congress what was known as the Committee of Secret Correspondence. Its business was to seek the friendly aid of foreign nations, especially of France and Holland: of France, because she was the enemy of England; of Holland, because the merchants of that country were rich and might lend money to the United States. This committee had sent agents to Europe.

Now that the United States professed to be one of the nations of the world, Congress determined to send commissioners to form alliances and make treaties. The States were indeed still a part of Europe. Their commerce was with that country; their manufactured articles came from there. Though they had a country and began to call themselves Americans, the world to them was on the other side of the Atlantic.

Franklin in France. — The one man to whom everybody looked as the representative of America in Europe was Ben-

jamin Franklin. He was now seventy years of age. He was the only American whose name was universally known and honored in Europe. Besides, he had long been an agent for American colonies in England, and he knew, better than any one else, the ways of kings and courts. Franklin was sent to France at the end of 1776.

The King of France and his counselors were not ready to aid the new republic openly, for to do that would be to run the risk of war with England. But the French people were stirred with enthusiasm. Many of their own nation had written of liberty; here was a nation in America fighting for liberty. The Declaration of Independence was read everywhere, and Franklin was received as a hero.

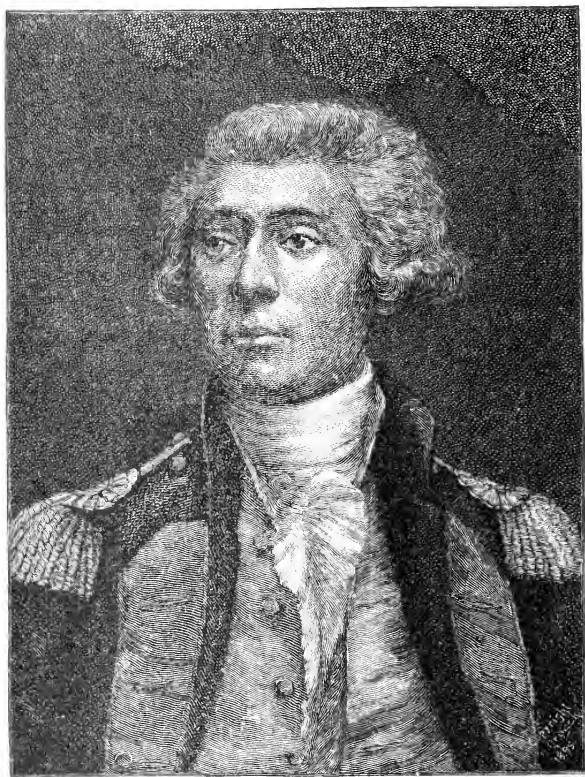
37. Foreign Officers in the Continental Army.— There was peace throughout Europe now, after a period of war. Thus there were many soldiers and officers without employment. Great numbers flocked to America to join the army. Some went from love of adventure, some from a sincere enthusiasm for liberty. Among the most notable of the officers were Kosciusko, Pulaski, Kalb, Steuben, and Lafayette.

Kosciusko and Pulaski were Poles who had fought in vain for the freedom of Poland. Kalb was a German who had recently been a secret agent of France sent to America to inquire into the condition of affairs there. Steuben was a German, a soldier by profession. He had learned the art of war under the greatest of European generals, Frederick the Great, King of Prussia.

The Marquis de la Fayette was a young French nobleman, full of fiery zeal for freedom. He gave his money, and though his friends and the court tried to dissuade him, he gave himself; he crossed the Atlantic, and from the first made himself the warm friend of Washington. He was a brave, cheerful leader of men.

Congress found it hard work to give a place to every French and German officer who applied for service. There was much jealousy shown by Americans. But the best of these foreign-

ers were of great value; they helped in training an army of courageous but unskilled men, and in leading them against the regular troops brought into the field by Great Britain.



Lafayette. Born 1757; died 1834.

QUESTIONS.

What were the movements of General Howe after he left Boston? What Southern town did the British attack? How were the colonies turned into States? How did the idea of independence grow? How did Congress find out the public sentiment? What was the Declaration

of Independence? How did it close? Who signed the document? Why did it require courage to do so? What was done by the people of Philadelphia? What was the position of the loyalists? What is a confederation? What chief authority had the colonies when they broke away from Great Britain? What scope did the articles of confederation have? How did the authority of the Confederation compare with that of the king and Parliament? What name was given to the Confederation? Why did not Canada join the Confederation? How were affairs with foreign nations conducted? When and why was Franklin sent to Europe? What foreigners came over to help us? Give an account of the leading ones. Of what use were these foreigners?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What became of the Bostonians who sided with the British government, when Howe sailed away? Who composed the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence? When the Declaration of Independence is read in public now on the Fourth of July, how much of it pertains to general problems, and how much to the particular historical event of the separation of the colonies from Great Britain? Repeat the exact language of the first two paragraphs. Who was the King of France at the beginning of the American Revolution? How old were the following on July 4, 1776: Franklin, Washington, John Adams, Sam Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry, Alexander Hamilton? What was the contest in Poland that finally brought Kosciusko and Pulaski to this country?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

An analysis of the Declaration of Independence, showing its different parts.

Sketch of the life of Lafayette.

A letter from a boy who heard the Declaration read in Philadelphia.

The after history of Liberty Bell.

Historical footnotes to the Declaration, giving examples of the several indictments of the king.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That the loyalists were patriots.

Resolved, That it would have been of great advantage to the Confederation if Canada had joined it.

Resolved, That John Hancock was a rebel.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.¹

Hesse-Cassel (hëss-cäs'sel). A principality in the western part of Germany.

Stät'en. A Dutch word for "States." Its original form was *Staatēn*.

Schuyler (skī'ler).

St. Leger (sānt lěj'er).

Her'kimer.

Oris'kany.

Cabal (eä-bäl'). A number of persons joined in a secret plot for their own advancement.

Court-martialed. Tried by court-martial, that is, by a court within the army for the trial of offenses against military discipline.

Marque (märk).

Bon Homme Richard (bõn õm rê-shär').

Serā'pis. The name of an Egyptian deity.

André (än'dră).

De Grasse (dê gräs).

Gloucester (glõs'ter).


Rochambeau (ro-shān-bõ).

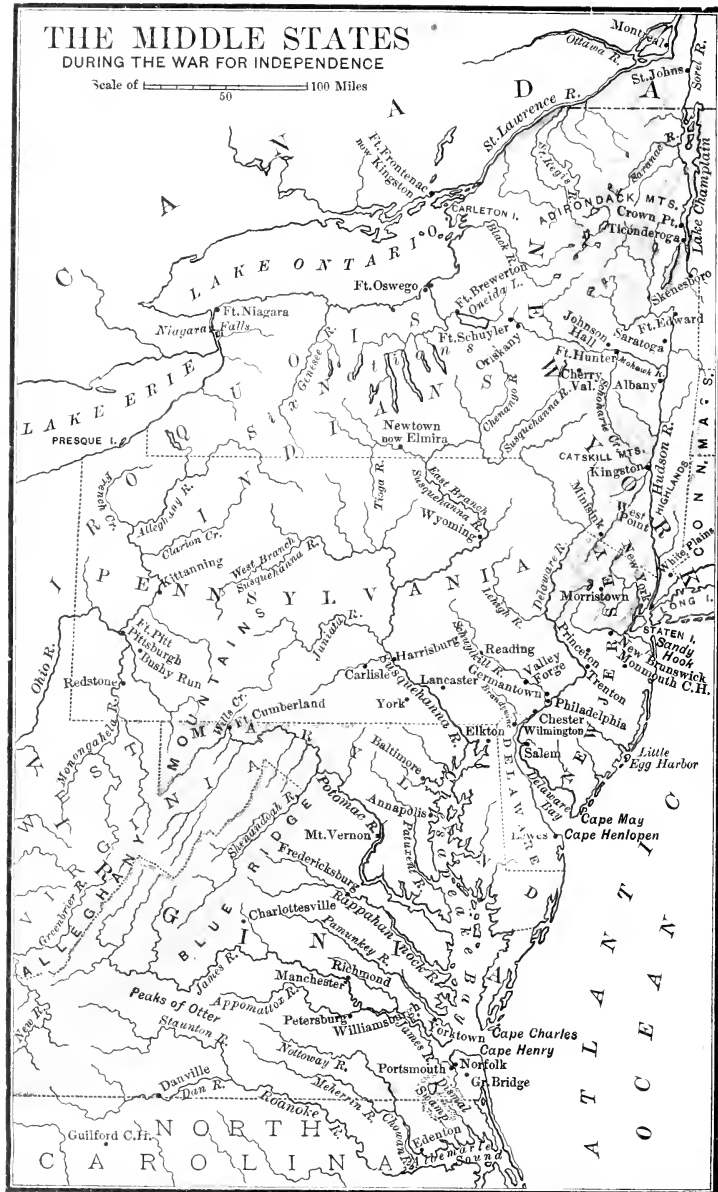
38. King George III. and his Hessians. — The people had declared they were independent of Great Britain; they must make good their words by hard fighting, for the king and Parliament had no intention of letting the colonies go. There was indeed a party in England, as we have seen, opposed to the king's policy. It grew stronger year by year. In it were men who said that if the king subdued the Americans he would increase his own personal power. Then Englishmen might lose their liberty, as they had come near losing it under Charles I. and again under Charles II.

¹ The most satisfactory work dealing with the war and with the causes that led up to it is John Fiske's *The American Revolution*. The same writer has, however, written a brief book for young readers entitled *The War of Independence*. Another useful work is G. W. Greene's *A Historical View of the American Revolution*. Winsor's *Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution* is an excellent companion, for it is a bibliography of all the works of various sorts that may be consulted for this period. An admirable narrative is *The Boys of '76*.

THE MIDDLE STATES

DURING THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

Scale of  100 Miles



King George III. was an upright man, but narrow-minded and stubborn. He refused to listen to men who counseled conciliation, and was resolved to conquer his rebellious subjects. He did not care where his soldiers came from, so long as they fought for him; and he hired whole regiments of men from German princes, especially from the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, whose subjects were called Hessians.

Such was the miserable condition of the common people in many parts of Europe, that these Hessian soldiers were almost as much the property of the prince as if they had been his slaves. He gave them to King George in return for money. The Americans, fighting for their liberty, were made angry by the sight of armies filled with men who had been hired to fight them.¹

39. The Battle of Long Island.—In carrying on the war against the colonies, England had the advantage of control of the seacoast. She could transport her troops to America and shift them from one port to another; for there were no forts worth speaking of, and the Americans at the end of 1776 had only thirteen ships in the navy, although some of the colonies had a few active privateersmen. With their navy and their land forces the English undertook to occupy the main points on the seaboard, and from these as bases to move into the interior.

The first campaign was directed toward the occupation of New York and the possession of the Hudson. In August, 1776, Sir William Howe, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, entered New York harbor with an army of twenty-five thousand. His brother, Lord Howe, accompanied him with a great fleet. The troops were landed on Staten Island. The American army, less than ten thousand strong, was in-

¹ The most thorough account of the part played by the Hessians is in *The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence*. Many of the soldiers remained in America after the war and became good American citizens. Many officers turned their experience to good account in the defense of Germany during the French Revolution.

trenched on Long Island and the heights overlooking New York. The two British commanders opened negotiations with General Washington. They had been instructed to propose conditions of peace, but they had no authority to grant independence, and Washington refused any other terms.¹

The whole British army then crossed the bay and landed on Long Island, south of Brooklyn. General Israel Putnam was in command of Brooklyn Heights, and General Sullivan, with a smaller force, held the roads leading to the Heights from the south. Earthworks extended from Wallabout Bay, the site of the present navy yard, to near the site of South Ferry.

On August 27, General Howe surrounded General Sullivan's force and won the battle of Long Island, capturing more than a thousand men, including Sullivan himself. Howe did not advance at once on the Heights, but set about laying siege. The position could not possibly be held by Putnam, especially in the presence of the fleet, and on the night of August 29, under cover of fog and rain, Washington withdrew the entire army, and slowly retreated up New York island, while Howe followed him.

40. Captain Nathan Hale. — It was during his retreat that an event occurred which showed how much Americans were willing to venture and how bravely they could die for the cause in which they were engaged. A young Connecticut soldier, a Yale student, Captain Nathan Hale, had volunteered to go within the British lines on Long Island that he might learn the position of the enemy. On the way back he was arrested. No trial was allowed him. He was not shot as a soldier, but was hanged. "I only

Sept. 22,
1776.

¹ When General Howe sent a communication to Washington he addressed it to "George Washington, Esq." The American officer refused to receive it, and sent it back. Then General Howe tried "George Washington, Esq., etc., etc.," as if these et ceteras would cover any possible title. But Washington still refused to receive a letter so addressed. The British officer was trying to avoid recognition of the American as an officer and general. Congress passed a resolution approving Washington's course.

regret," he said, as he was about to die, "that I have but one life to give for my country."

41. The Operations about New York and in New Jersey. — New York remained in the enemy's hands during the rest of the war. For two months after the battle of Long Island the two armies confronted each other, Washington aiming to hold his little forces together and to avoid a general engagement. A battle was fought at White Plains, Nov. 16,
1776.

October 29, in which Howe forced Washington back, but did not pursue his advantage. There were two forts on opposite banks of the Hudson, Fort Washington on the east bank, and Fort Lee on the west. A traitor in Fort Washington had carried plans of the fort to the enemy, and Howe suddenly attacked the place and captured it with its garrison of nearly three thousand men. This rendered Fort Lee useless, and it was abandoned.

The British now had control of the river, and Washington retreated slowly through New Jersey, followed by the enemy, until early in December he crossed the Delaware River near Trenton. Howe now thought the campaign over, and went into winter quarters. The succession of disasters, beginning with the battle of Long Island, greatly discouraged

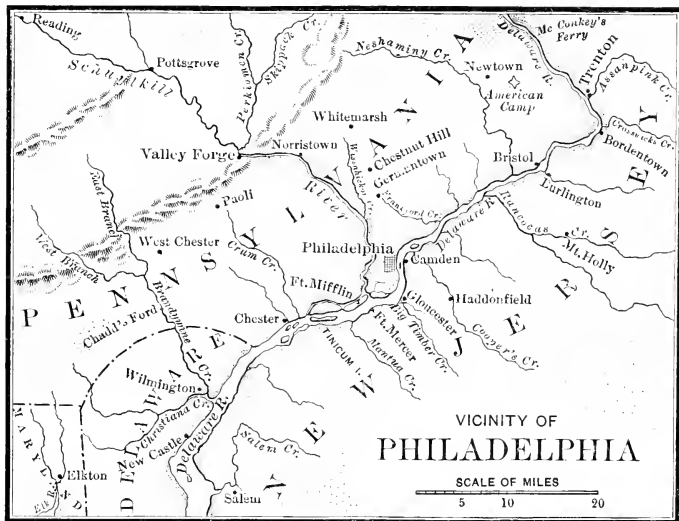


Statue of Nathan Hale.

his countrymen by a brilliant advance. Suddenly, on Christmas night, he recrossed the Delaware,¹ surprised the enemy in camp at Trenton, and took a thousand prisoners. This bold stroke annoyed and alarmed the British. Cornwallis was sent to capture the American army, but Washington made a forced march, and defeated and scattered the British forces at Princeton. There were only eight days between the two battles. Washington then went into winter quarters at Morristown, a controlling position. Howe, instead of occupying all New Jersey, as he had supposed he should, found himself cooped up at Brunswick and Amboy. The whole country was cheered by these successes.

Dec. 26,
1776.

Jan. 3,
1777.



42. The Campaign in the North. — When the spring of 1777 opened, the British formed a plan of campaign, by which, first,

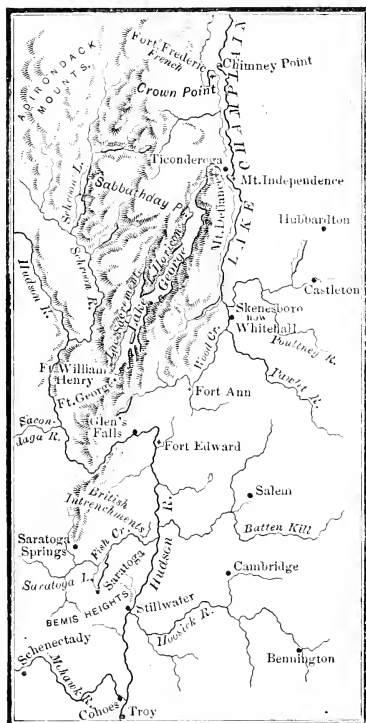
¹ Great blocks of ice were swirling along in the river. General John Glover, with his fisherman soldiers from Cape Ann, in Massachusetts, managed the ferrying across.

they should cut off New England from the rest of the Confederation, and second, they should take possession of Philadelphia, where Congress was sitting. The great highway between the two parts of the country was that narrow belt

which lies between the waters of Lake George and the navigable waters of the Hudson.

To hold this belt was to hold the gateway of the North. The plan of the British government was to send an army by Lake Champlain from Canada, and another up the Hudson from New York; the two were to meet, and a third division going up the St. Lawrence and by Lake Ontario was to move down the Mohawk Valley and join the other two at Albany. Thus all western New York was to be subdued to English rule.¹

Capture of Ticonderoga. — The English general, Burgoyne, left the northern point of Lake Champlain, on his southward way,



Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

early in June. He had with him an army of eight thousand men, half of whom were Germans. He was accompanied by Indian allies, and he had forty pieces of artillery. His first movement was against Fort Ticonderoga. The Americans

¹ There is a pleasant story of revolutionary scenes in the Mohawk Valley, called *Paul and Persis*.

had failed to secure a hill which commanded it; and when Burgoyne took possession of the hill, the garrison evacuated the fort. Burgoyne kept on his way July 5,
1777. toward Fort Edward on the Hudson, but the American general, Philip Schuyler, blocked his way so stubbornly that he did not reach Fort Edward till the end of July.

The Battle of Oriskany.—Meanwhile Colonel St. Leger, at the head of the third division, had reached Fort Stanwix, near the site of the present town of Rome, and demanded its surrender. The commander refused. The patriots in the valley had already risen, and were marching under General Herkimer to the relief of the fort. The relieving party fell into an ambush laid by Joseph Brant, a remarkable Mohawk Indian chieftain who was with the British, and the fierce battle of Oriskany followed. Herkimer was killed, but the Americans won the day. Schuyler sent Benedict Arnold with twelve hundred men to relieve Fort Stanwix, but before they reached the place, St. Leger had retreated by the way he came. Aug. 6,
1777.

43. Bennington, Brandywine, and Germantown.—Ten days after the battle of Oriskany came the less fierce but scarcely less important battle of Bennington. Burgoyne sent a detachment to secure some stores which the Americans had at Bennington. The New Hampshire militia and the Green Mountain men met and defeated the expedition. They were led by General John Stark, of New Hampshire, who cheered his troops on, when they met the British, with the shout, “There are the redcoats! Before night they’re ours, or Molly Stark’s a widow!” Aug. 16,
1777.

These successes of the Americans filled them with enthusiasm, and quickened their efforts. The New England States feared that Burgoyne intended to march eastward from the Hudson, and companies from the towns of Connecticut and Massachusetts hurried to join the army. Burgoyne was now cut off from retreat the way he had come, and he looked anxiously for reinforcements from New York to come up the

but a fog confused them, and they were forced to retreat to the hills above Whitemarsh.

44. Defeat of Burgoyne. — The country was greatly depressed by the loss of Philadelphia, but the movement of the American army there had effectually prevented Howe from sending a large force from New York up the Hudson to support Burgoyne. It is true that he had received no orders from London to do this; by a blunder, orders were sent to Burgoyne to move south to meet Howe, but none to Howe to meet Burgoyne. Of his own accord, however, he sent a small force when he could spare it, under General Clinton.

It was too late. Clinton went as far only as Kingston, for Burgoyne was defeated in a series of engagements, and surrendered to General Gates at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. Gates was an ambitious, scheming man, who had scarcely anything to do with the victory; that was due largely to the bravery of General Arnold and the good generalship of General Schuyler, who was removed from the head of the army just as all things were ripe for final victory.

45. The Alliance with France. — The surrender of Burgoyne proved to be the turning point of the war. It gave artillery and arms to the American army, it encouraged the soldiers, and it made a great impression in Europe. In England the opposition party was strengthened, and men began to talk loudly of making peace. In France the government no longer held back. A formal alliance was entered Feb. 6, 1778. into with the United States, by which the king, Louis XVI., pledged himself to furnish men, ships, and money to complete the war.

The Position of England. — As soon as the action of Louis XVI. was known, England declared war on France. The eyes of all England were now turned to the Earl of Chatham, as the one statesman who could take the helm, a man feared by France and admired by Americans. But King George, whose insanity was gaining on him, hated the Earl of Chatham with a furious hatred, and utterly refused to call him to his aid as

prime minister.¹ He might even have been compelled to call him, and Chatham might even then have restored peace and formed some kind of union between Great Britain and America, but he died shortly after.² Lord North continued in power, and lamely tried to win over the United States by sending commissioners to treat with the rebels, though without offering independence. The commissioners were received with contempt.

46. Valley Forge and the Conway Cabal. — While this was going on in Europe, the winter was passing in America, and bringing with it severe trials to the American army. The British army was comfortably quartered in New York and Philadelphia. Washington, with the principal American forces, had gone into winter quarters at Valley Forge, 1777, a place chosen as the best point from which to watch 1778. the movements of the British in Philadelphia.

The first enthusiasm of the war had been spent. The great men who had sat in Congress were no longer there. Some had been sent on missions to Europe; some were busy in their States. The Confederation had no money. No revenue was coming in, for there was but little commerce. Each State needed all the money it could raise from its own citizens. Congress therefore borrowed money abroad and at home. It could only give its promises to pay when peace should come, and these promises seemed to people worth less and less. How could Congress redeem its promises even if peace should come? Congress had no power; it was only a committee of the States. It was the army, and not Congress, which was to win peace.

There was no money to pay the soldiers or to buy food

¹ "This episode appears to me the most criminal in the whole reign of George III., and in my own judgment it is as criminal as any of those acts which led Charles to the scaffold." This is the opinion of a recent English historian, Mr. Lecky, in his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. IV., p. 83.

² See a splendid passage in Chapter VIII. of Fiske's *The American Revolution*.

and clothing for them. The country people were tempted by the gold of the British, and turned away from the paper money of Congress. Their provisions found their way into Philadelphia, and not to the bleak camp at Valley Forge. In this time of general discouragement, meaner spirits came to the front, and murmurs arose against Washington. A plot was formed by some of the officers, which was called, from the name of one of them, the Conway Cabal. The design was to displace Washington, and put Gates at the head of the army. It was a plot of officers only; the common soldiers took no part in it. The cabal failed utterly. It was rebuked in Congress; the officers who took part in it tried to win over Lafayette, but that soldier was loyal to his great chief.¹

Sufferings of the Soldiers. — The Continental army, half clad, half fed, housed only in canvas tents and a few log huts, wore through the terrible winter in the bleak country. The blood from their naked feet stained the snow. To overcome such



A Soldier in the Continental Army.

¹ The intrigue brought out the loyalty of Washington's friends. A motion was before Congress, presented by one of the cabal, which was hostile to Washington. His friends bestirred themselves. They needed one more vote. In their extremity they went to William Duer, a member from New York, who was dangerously ill. Duer sent for his doctor.

"Doctor," he asked, "can I be carried to Congress?"

"Yes; but at the risk of your life," was the answer.

"Do you mean that I should expire before reaching the place?"

"No," came the answer; "but I would not answer for your leaving it alive."

"Very well, sir. You have done your duty, and I will do mine!" exclaimed Duer. "Prepare a litter for me; if you will not, somebody else will, but I prefer your aid." Duer had already started, when an absent member came back suddenly from the camp, and Duer's services, fortunately, were not needed.

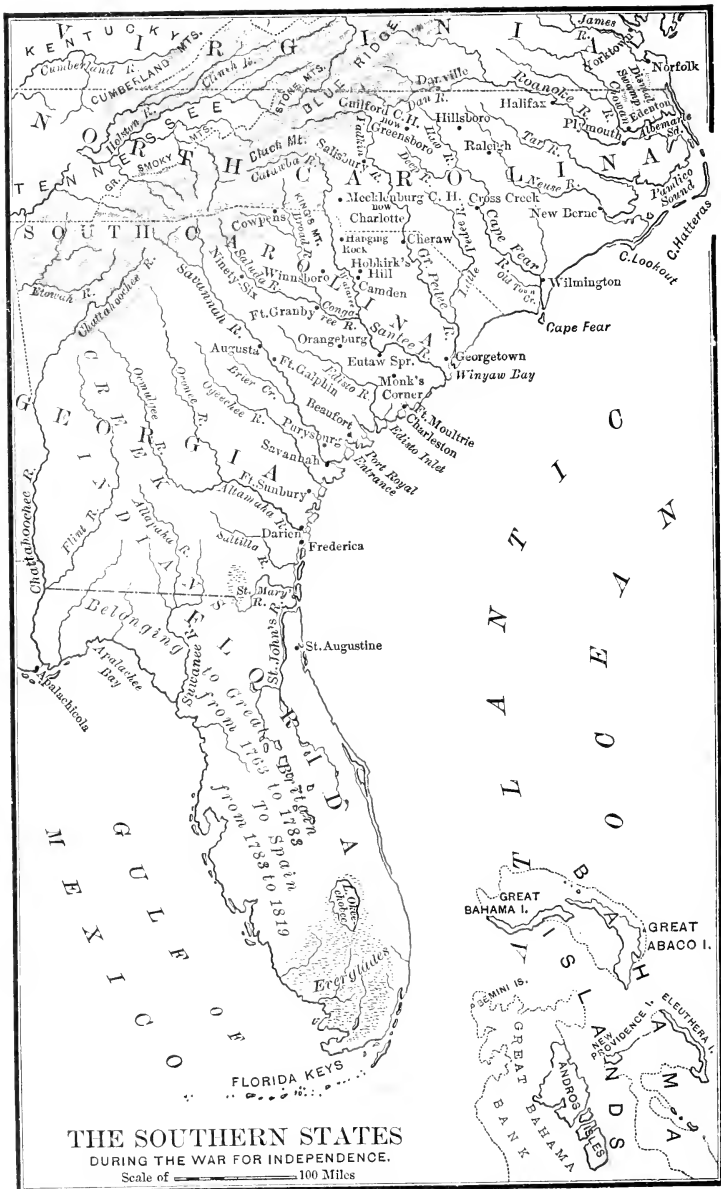
misery was to gain fresh courage. It was at Valley Forge, rather than in great battles, that American patriotism showed most clearly. In the lonely country, too, there was patriotism. The women were doing men's work, because the men were in the army. The letters which traveled between the camp and the country farms are records of patient endurance. The great work of the winter was in the drilling and training of the ragged regiments at Valley Forge. This was especially the work of Steuben, who turned the camp into a great military school; and when the winter was over he had made a solid, well-disciplined army.¹

47. Battle of Monmouth Court House.—The French alliance had made America confident of success. A French fleet was on its way, and the British government ordered Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, to concentrate his forces in New York. Clinton proposed to cross New Jersey to Sandy Hook, where his fleet would transport the troops to New York. Washington immediately set his own army in motion to intercept the British, and fell upon them at Monmouth Court House. The battle that followed was a disastrous one for both sides.

It might have been a victorious one for the Americans, June 28,
1778. but for the disobedience to Washington's orders shown by Charles Lee, who had returned to his command and was an active member of the Conway Cabal. Washington saved the day, and his army kept the field. From that time his supremacy was unquestioned. Lee was court-martialed and was deprived of his command for a year.

48. Actions in 1778.—There were no great engagements in the summer of 1778 after Monmouth. Washington took up his old position at White Plains and expected, with the aid of the French fleet, to reduce New York; but some of the vessels were too large to enter the harbor, and the fleet went to Newport, where the English destroyed the vessels they had there to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French.

¹ See Guy Humphrey McMaster's poem, "The Old Continentals."



A month later General Sullivan, in command of the American forces in Rhode Island, planned to attack the British at Newport, and depended upon the French fleet to aid him. But a British fleet came from New York, and the French went outside the harbor to attack it. A great storm arose which scattered all the vessels. The British fleet retired to New York, and the French fleet re-^{Aug. 29,}
turned to Newport, but afterward put into Boston 1778. for repairs; and General Sullivan, after a gallant fight, was compelled to retreat.

The First Campaign in the South. — The British now changed their plan of operations. Instead of sending an army to attack Washington, they sent an expedition to the South, intending to occupy the Southern States. The expedition went by sea and captured Savannah. With this foothold they recovered possession in Georgia and ^{Dec. 29,}
set up again the royal governor in that State. 1778. But they did not at once push operations into the Carolinas.

49. The Foreign Alliance. — Meanwhile Congress was relying largely on France and expecting peace at any moment. The people on the seaboard went about their business of farming, and left the army to the care of Congress; but though Congress could borrow some money abroad, it had no power to compel the States to raise money. Its own promises to pay, in the shape of paper money, or Continental currency, as it was called, became so worthless, that the phrase came into use, which still lingers, "not worth a Continental." France was playing her own game. She was not fighting merely to secure the independence of America. She meant that the United States should have its western boundary at the Alleghanies. She intended to recover for herself the great valley of the Mississippi, and to further her ends she drew Spain into the alliance.

Operations on the Frontier. — But while France and Spain were parceling out the western country between them, the people in that vast region were taking affairs into their own

hands. As early as 1776 the county of Kentucky in the State of Virginia had been formed, and in 1778 the frontiersmen had been pushing their way into the valleys of the Cumberland, the Kentucky, and the Ohio. The British commander at Detroit, Colonel Hamilton, proposed to use the Indians in an attack upon the settlements. But the frontiersmen, under George Rogers Clark, did not stand on the defensive.

They carried the war into the country held by the British posts, and before the close of 1779 had brought all the region now included in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois under the control of the United States. Besides, another expedition had captured the English forts on the Mississippi as far south as Natchez. All this was important for another reason. The conquest and occupation of this region helped to block the design of France and Spain to make the Alleghanies the western boundary of the new United States.

50. Wayne's Exploit. — At the East, in the same summer of 1779, occurred the brilliant exploit of General Anthony Wayne, "Mad Anthony Wayne," as he was called, for his daring, in the recapture of a half-finished fort at Stony Point
 July 15,
 1779. on the Hudson, which General Clinton had seized.

Wayne led his men in the night time up the steep, and in half an hour after the first shot was fired, captured the fort and all its stores.

51. Naval Engagements. — At sea there were some remarkable engagements. The Americans had little that could be called a navy; but Congress issued letters of marque to merchant vessels. Under these letters the captains had authority to make war upon the enemy wherever found. There was of course little commerce possible, and many vessels were thus turned into privateers.

The most famous of the captains of such vessels was John Paul Jones.¹ He hovered about the English coast, and wrought such mischief among the merchantmen that he diminished the commerce of some ports one half. Benjamin Franklin, in his

¹ Jones is really the hero in Cooper's exciting story, *The Pilot*.

familiar papers on frugality, used to begin with the words "Poor Richard says." So when the King of France gave Jones a ship, Jones named it the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was the French way of saying "Poor Richard." The *Bon Homme Richard* had a great fight with the English frigate *Serapis* off the coast of England. The two vessels lay alongside of each other, with the muzzles of the cannon almost touching. Both crews fought bravely; and so terrible was the fire that when at last the *Serapis* surrendered, the *Bon Homme Richard* was just ready to sink.

Sept. 23,
1779.



John Paul Jones. Born 1747; died 1792.

52. Operations in the South. — In the spring of 1780 the British, after a two months' siege, took Charleston; they were also in possession of Savannah, and had a large army in the field. At first it was opposed by no American army.

But the patriotic planters gathered in companies, and rode here and there under the leadership of daring men like Marion,¹ Sumter, and Pickens. They harassed the enemy, who might be in force, but who could do nothing toward suppressing the patriotic spirit of half the people. For the people were nearly equally divided in allegiance. Every plantation was an armed camp, and neighbor fought neighbor. It was only so

¹ See Eryant's stirring poem, "Song of Marion's Men."

long as an army on either side occupied a district that the district could be said to be for the king or for Congress.¹

At last an American army came down from the North, headed by Kalb. Later Congress sent Gates to take command of all the forces in the South. Gates met the
 Aug. 16, 1780. British under Cornwallis, and was disastrously defeated at Camden, in South Carolina, where the brave Kalb fell, mortally wounded. The country was greatly depressed; but worse was to come.

53. Arnold's Treachery. — Benedict Arnold, a general in the American army, was a man of great courage; but he was a selfish, cruel, and covetous man, and had come under censure for misconduct while in command at Philadelphia. At his request he was transferred to West Point, on the Hudson, a post of great importance. It was strongly fortified, and had a great deposit of military stores. Here were gathered some three thousand men. Arnold had long been in secret communication with the British, and now agreed to betray West Point into their hands.

He made the final arrangements with Major John André, a British officer; but André, on his way back to the British camp, was stopped by some patriots. They searched
 September, 1780. him, and found hidden in his stockings papers which revealed Arnold's treachery. André was tried as a spy, condemned, and hanged. He was engaged in a detestable business; but the feeling that he was the victim
 Oct. 2, 1780. of a mean man has made Americans generous to his memory. Arnold fled before he could be arrested. The British government paid him a large sum of money and gave him a command, but he was despised by the men who had bought him.²

54. The Southern Campaign. — Arnold's treachery came to nothing, and affairs in the South took a turn for the better.

¹ See Kennedy's novel, *Horse-Shoe Robinson*.

² A *Life of Arnold* by Isaac N. Arnold gives the facts of his career and says the best that can be said for the unhappy man.

Washington obtained the appointment of General Nathanael Greene¹ in the place of Gates. Greene showed at once the qualities of a great general. He secured additions to the weakened Southern army, and began a masterly campaign. In December, 1780, Greene was at Charlotte, North Carolina, and Cornwallis was in South Carolina, moving northward.

Greene divided his forces into two bodies. His plan was to hover about the British army, and while avoiding a general battle, to harass the enemy continually. General Greene was in command of one division; General Morgan, of the other. In front of Morgan was the British officer Tarleton, known as a cruel fighter, who had laid waste much of the country. Morgan chose his position well, fought the battle of Cowpens with splendid bravery, put to rout a fourth part of Cornwallis's army, and joined Greene.



Nathanael Greene.

Jan. 17,
1781.

¹ Nathanael Greene, the son of a Rhode Island Quaker, was born May 27, 1742. He worked at the blacksmith's forge, and was chosen a member of the Rhode Island legislature. He joined a local military company and for this was expelled from the Society of Friends. He was appointed in command of the Rhode Island forces that joined in the siege of Boston and there became a fast friend of Washington, who secured his appointment as quartermaster-general in 1778. He was in some respects the foremost military genius in the war after Washington. At the close of the war he received valuable grants of land from Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and died on his estate near Savannah, June 19, 1786. See his *Life* by his grandson.

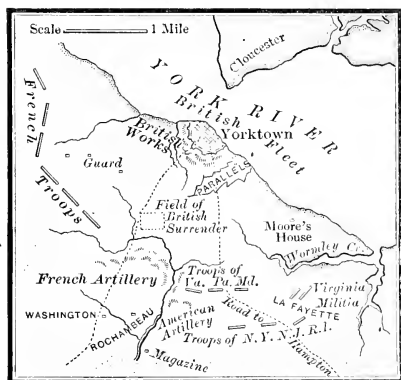
Now followed a series of masterly movements by Greene, lasting through the winter, the spring, and the following summer. With a small, ill-clad, and ill-furnished army, he

March 15, 1781. pushed the British from post to post. His final battle with Cornwallis was fought at Guilford Court House.

Although Greene was defeated, Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, North Carolina, and finally to Virginia. There he was skillfully kept at bay by Lafayette.

Meanwhile Washington was threatening New York. He meant to make General Clinton believe that he intended to at-

tack him from the land, while Count de Grasse, in command of the French fleet, attacked him by sea. This was to prevent Clinton from sending any troops to Cornwallis. The feint succeeded so well that Clinton instead sent to Cornwallis for troops to aid in the defense of New York. Suddenly the French fleet sailed away for Virginia, and



The Siege of Yorktown.

Washington with his army made forced marches to Yorktown.

Before Clinton knew what was done, the French fleet and the American army held Cornwallis in a trap. Cornwallis now begged Clinton to come to his rescue with ships and men. The British had thrown up fortifications at Yorktown and Gloucester, on opposite sides of the York River. The French troops under Rochambeau, and the American troops under Washington, surrounded the British works, while the French fleet held the entrance to the bay.

55. The Surrender of Cornwallis. — The disposition of the troops was completed by the end of September, and the siege

of Yorktown was begun. Every day there was an advance, and brilliant attacks were made upon the British works. The situation of Cornwallis was getting desperate. His ships were on fire; great numbers of his men were in hospital; Clinton had not arrived, though he had sent word he was coming. Cornwallis determined to leave his sick behind him, and remove across the river to Gloucester. Then he meant to break through the small French force stationed behind Gloucester, in the hope of joining Clinton.

He began his movement the night of October 15; but when a portion of his troops had crossed, a storm arose which scattered his boats. It was no longer possible to hold Yorktown, and the 19th of October, 1781, General Cornwallis surrendered his whole army to General Washington. On that day Clinton left New York



Lord Cornwallis. Born 1738; died 1805.

to join Cornwallis. A week later, when off the Virginia capes, he heard the news of the surrender. It was too late for him to be of any service, and he returned to New York.

56. The Treaty of Peace. — When news of the surrender of Cornwallis reached England, Parliament was just reassembling. The king's friends tried hard to make Parliament vote to prosecute the war vigorously, but the opposing party increased in strength and resolution. They compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and take the advice of those who favored

the independence of the United States. The king was willing to have peace with his colonies; he was ready to yield the points which were in dispute when the war broke out, but he was very loath to grant independence.

The American commissioners who had been sent to Paris were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay. They declared that they would consider no treaty until independence was acknowledged. The king was obliged to yield. Then one question after another was raised. The question of boundary was one; the English wished to keep the Ohio Valley and part of Maine. The property of the Tories had been confiscated; England wished it restored. The right to fish off the Banks of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia was a valuable right; England tried to exclude New England fishermen.

These and other questions caused delay. The delay was increased by the efforts of France and Spain to postpone the final settlement until they should get what they wanted from Great Britain. At last, however, the wisdom and patience of the American commissioners were rewarded, and the treaty of peace between England and the United States was signed in Paris, September 3, 1783.

57. The Breaking up of the Army.—The English government had already withdrawn its troops from Savannah and Charleston in 1782. On the 25th of November, 1783, the British army evacuated New York. Washington and his officers, and George Clinton, governor of the State of New York, marched into the town with a few companies of soldiers. General Washington had made a farewell address to his army at Newburgh, on the Hudson, where he had been in camp for nearly two years. Now he parted, with
 Dec. 4. deep feeling, from the officers who had been close to him through all the years of the war. Then he returned his
 Dec. 23. commission to Congress, which was sitting at Annapolis, and went back, a private citizen, to his estate at Mt. Vernon, in Virginia.

The army had been breaking up all through the summer,

and now it was entirely disbanded. The officers and soldiers who had homes returned to them; but many had no homes. They wandered destitute for weeks and months about the country. Everywhere they found the people restless and uncertain of what was to come.

QUESTIONS.

How did the affairs in America affect politics in England? What course did the king pursue to secure soldiers? What special advantage did England have in attacking the colonies? What was the first point of attack? Narrate the events connected with the battle of Long Island. Tell the story of Nathan Hale. What followed the battle of Long Island? Describe the operations in New Jersey. Tell how Washington encouraged the people. What was the British plan for the Northern campaign? Narrate the capture of Ticonderoga; the battle of Oriskany; the battle of Bennington. What were Washington's movements at this time? Narrate the events leading up to and including the battle of Saratoga. What effect did the defeat of Burgoyne have on the country? What effect abroad? What course did Louis XVI. pursue? What resulted in England? Where did the army go into winter quarters? What was the condition of the Confederation? What was the Conway Cabal? Describe the state of the army at Valley Forge. Describe the movement ending with the battle of Monmouth Court House. Narrate the events of the summer of 1778. What efforts did the British make to regain the South? What was the financial condition of the country? Describe the operations on the frontier. Narrate Wayne's exploit. Tell the story of John Paul Jones. What took place in the South in 1780? Tell the story of Arnold's treachery and André's execution. Narrate the events of Greene's movements in the South. Describe the strategy by which Cornwallis was shut up in Yorktown. Tell the event of the surrender of Cornwallis. Who were the American commissioners in Paris? What was the state of things in England? What questions were involved in the treaty? When was the Treaty of Paris signed? What events followed the treaty?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Was General Lee a traitor? Name successive military operations on Lake Champlain from Champlain down. What did the British do with themselves in Philadelphia? Where did Congress sit when the British held Philadelphia? What was the origin of the word "cabal"? Describe

the circumstances connected with the death of the Earl of Chatham. How did the word "Cornwallis" later come into popular use? What serious disturbance at Newburgh was quieted by the influence of Washington? Who governed the Americans during the Revolution? Who said "Howe has not taken Philadelphia, so much as Philadelphia has taken Howe," and why was it said?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

A comparison of Nathan Hale and Major André.

A detailed account of the Conway Cabal.

The story of the capture of Stony Point.

The story of Jane McCrea.

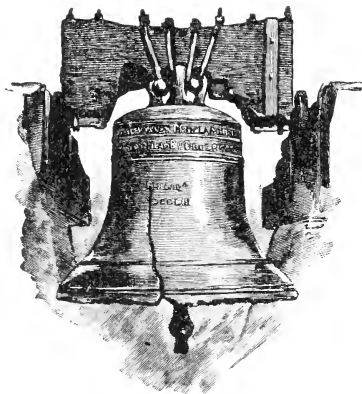
Arnold before and Arnold after his treason.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That without the French alliance independence could not have been won.

Resolved, That the cause of human freedom would have been advanced if the United States could have remained a part of the British empire.

Resolved, That Americans should have secured their independence without recourse to war.



Liberty Bell, Independence Hall.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION.

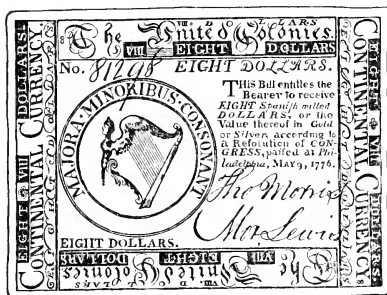
Quō'rum. Such a number of persons at a meeting as is necessary, under its rules, to transact business. It is the first word of a	Latin sentence, indicating this, and means "of whom." Ratify (răt'i-fy). To give assent to.
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58. The Debt created by the War. — The war was over, and there were thirteen States in America, independent of Great Britain. They were held together by the Articles of Confederation, and the common business of the country was in the hands of the United States in Congress assembled. The chief business was to provide for the payment of the debt incurred in the war. This debt, to say nothing of the interest on it, was about forty million dollars.

Congress had been raising money in three ways. It had asked the separate States to provide money; it had borrowed from friendly European countries; and it had issued its own notes, or promises to pay. The States could raise money by taxation, but Congress had no power to tax. Yet the States, too, with the exception of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Virginia, issued their own paper money and relied mainly on that. The States gave Congress not more than one sixth of what was asked for. After the alliance with France, it was possible to borrow money abroad, and about eight millions was obtained in that way; but when the interest was due, it was necessary to borrow more money to pay that.

As for the paper money issued by Congress, the Continental currency, it was like all other promises to pay, good only when the promisor has something to pay with; and, as we have seen, it fell very low in value as money. It took all

the skill and most of the private wealth of Robert Morris,¹ the Superintendent of Finance and a noble patriot, to provide means for carrying on the war. The debt most pressing was about five million dollars due the army. Congress had been shamefully neglectful of this debt, and it had required all the influence of Washington to keep the soldiers from rising in their wrath and compelling Congress to pay them.



Continental Currency.

the treaty of peace, Great Britain gave up to the United States the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. Now this territory was pretty well covered with claims which the separate colonies, now States, had set up over it; but the claims had been on paper, and any colonizing had been by person and not by the States; the boundaries of the several claims were very indefinite. It was now proposed that the different States should give up to the Confederation their title to these Western lands; and this they did, although Georgia did not give up hers until as late as 1801.

The Northwest Territory. — Congress used this great property in land to pay the debts of the Confederation. It gave lands to officers and soldiers in payment of their claims against the

¹ Morris was born in Liverpool, January 20, 1734, and came to this country, when a boy of thirteen, with his father. He was placed in the counting-house of Charles Willing, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant. He rose to a partnership, and when the Revolution came, threw his influence upon the patriot side at the jeopardy of his property. When the new government went into operation, he was offered the post of Secretary of the Treasury, but advised Washington to appoint Hamilton. He died May 8, 1806.

government. Many of these moved out to their lands, and companies were formed for colonizing, especially in the Ohio Valley. But the holding of this Western country by the Confederation meant a great deal more than a means to pay debts. As before, a Continental army under Congress was a sign of national union, so now the fact that all the States in union held a vast territory in common was a sign that the people were forming a nation, and Congress was compelled to take some measures for governing the territory.

By what is known as the Ordinance of 1787, Congress erected all the district northwest of the Ohio into one territory. It appointed a governor and council and judges. The people residing in the territory were to choose their own Assembly and make their own laws. The most important provision of the ordinance was that by which slavery was forever excluded from the Northwest Territory.

60. The Trade with England. — While Congress was apparently powerless, each State had its regular government and courts of justice, and each had seaports. The trade with Europe, which had been interrupted, was resumed. England treated the States very much as she had treated the colonies. She sent great quantities of goods over the sea, but required that all produce from America should be brought to her in one of two ways, — it must come either in a British ship or in a ship belonging to the State from which the goods came. England also forbade the British colonies to trade directly with the United States. This was intended especially to govern the West Indian trade.

By these various regulations England tried to keep the commerce of the United States in her own hands. The great influx of English goods carried off much of the coin left in the States, for English merchants would not take paper money. It broke down the feeble manufactories which had been set up when no goods could be had from England. It brought a great many merchants in the States into debt to English mer-

chants. These transactions were with the separate States. Congress had no power to regulate trade, and thus was unable to come in between England and the States.

61. The Claims of England and Spain. — Under the treaty of 1783 Congress was to recommend the several States to restore the property taken from the loyalists. The States were still bitter against these men, and refused any such consideration. This threw the loyalists upon the British government for support. The States also made it difficult for English merchants to collect debts due before the war. England made this an excuse for refusing to abide by that article of the treaty which required her to abandon the Western posts. She still kept garrisons there and controlled the important fur trade which centered about them.

Spain, again, claimed control of the Mississippi River and refused to give free navigation. There were no States on the banks, but there were active settlements in the western parts of Kentucky and Tennessee that found the river the natural highway, and they raised a loud protest when Congress seemed ready to grant the claim of Spain. They threatened to detach themselves from the United States altogether, and indeed the western counties of North Carolina undertook to set themselves up into a State of their own called Franklin. The part of Virginia which afterward became Kentucky threatened a similar attempt.

62. Internal Disorders. — The separate States tried to get away the European trade from one another. One State would bid for the trade by offering to receive goods at lower rates of duties. Then two States which were neighbors would make an agreement to secure for themselves trade which might otherwise go to another part of the country. Disorders arose within the separate States. When the courts decided against debtors,

the creditors would call on the State authorities to
1786. help them collect the debts. The people who owed money and had none to pay saw their goods and cattle taken from them. This enraged them so that they rose in riots

against the courts and sheriff. In Massachusetts, Daniel Shays, a captain in the Continental army, headed a body of men who for six months resisted the authority of the State.

63. Failure of the Confederation. — The whole country seemed to be falling to pieces. Congress could with difficulty bring enough members together to form a quorum. Scarcely any one outside paid attention to what it did. Least of all was it respected by foreign governments. John Adams, who had been sent as minister to England, could hardly get a hearing there. It was impossible for the country to go on as it was. The States were separating from one another and from Congress.

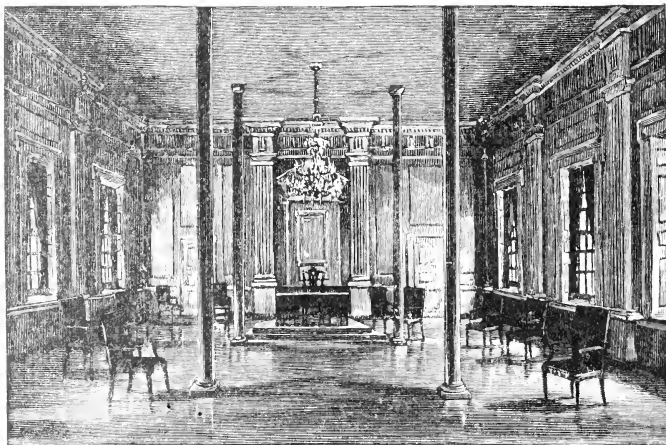
Yet all the while the people were busy. They were crossing the mountains into the Western country. The very attempt of the western counties of North Carolina to make a new State showed that the people insisted upon governing themselves.¹ Just as the people before the war had met in convention, so now they resolved to hold a new one. Virginia spoke earnestly through its legislature, and a convention was called "to take into consideration the situation of the United States."

64. The Constitutional Convention. — The convention met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, and sat four months. The States sent their ablest men as delegates. Washington was chairman; Franklin and Morris were members; and there were two young men whom the convention was to make famous, — Alexander Hamilton of New York and James Madison of Virginia. All felt the need of giving greater authority to the Confederation, but the constitution they were to draw up was to be submitted to the several States, and must be agreed to by nine of the States before it could become the law of the land. The members knew how jealous the States were of Congress, and they had to use the greatest wisdom to draft a constitution which would be accepted. They had before them the written constitutions of

¹ The fullest treatment of the Western movement is to be found in the very readable volumes of Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West*.

the several States, and they drew many details from these; the Constitution of the United States was in the main the application to the whole country of the mode of government which had worked well in the several States.

65. **The Federalist.** — The convention finally adopted the Constitution,¹ and reported its work to Congress, and
Sept. 17, 1787. Congress submitted it to the States. At once the Constitution began to be discussed. Everywhere, in State conventions, in assemblies, in town meetings, in country



Interior of Independence Hall.

¹ Dr. John Fiske, in his work on *The Critical Period of American History*, which is a clear analysis of the six years 1783-1789, closes his sixth chapter with a reference to Franklin's successive efforts, beginning with the Albany Congress of 1754, to bring about a closer union. Franklin had signed the Declaration of Independence in the very room where the convention was sitting. "Eleven years more had passed, and he had been spared to see the noble aim of his life accomplished. There was still, no doubt, a chance of failure, but hope now reigned in the old man's breast. On the back of the President's quaint black armchair there was emblazoned a half-sun, brilliant with its gilded rays. As the meeting was breaking up, and Washington arose, Franklin pointed to the chair, and made it the text for prophecy. 'As I have been sitting here all these weeks,' said he, 'I have often wondered whether yonder sun is rising or setting. But now I know that it is a rising sun!'"

stores, by friends, in newspapers and letters, every article was debated. Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay¹ wrote a series of essays which went over all the questions with great thoroughness. They showed the reasons for adopting the Constitution and did much to convince people. These essays were published at the time in newspapers, and afterward were collected into a volume called *The Federalist*.



Alexander Hamilton.²

66. The Adoption of the Constitution. — Delaware was the first to ratify the Constitution, which it did unanimously.

¹ John Jay was of Huguenot descent, and was born in New York, December 12, 1745. He graduated at King's College, now Columbia University, in 1766. He was a member of the Continental Congress, and was very active in the affairs of his own State. He drafted the constitution adopted by New York, and was chief justice of the State. Washington appointed him the first chief justice of the United States. Daniel Webster said: "When the spotless ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself." He died May 17, 1829. See the volume on him in *American Statesman* series, by George Pellew.

² Alexander Hamilton was born in the island of Nevis, West Indies, January 11, 1757. He was thrown on his own resources very early, and showed such remarkable ability that his friends sent him to America to be educated. He came into public notice at a meeting held when he was a student at Columbia, then King's College, when he made a fervid speech in favor of colonial rights. Early in 1776 he was given command of a company of artillery by the New York Convention. He did so well at Long Island and White Plains that he attracted Washington's attention, and was invited to join his staff. From this followed an intimate association. He studied finance during the Revolution, and after the war studied law, and was admitted to the bar.

Pennsylvania followed, five days afterward, with a two-thirds vote in favor. The fight was hardest in Virginia and New York; but these States accepted the Constitution; in the latter, Alexander Hamilton, more than any other man, influenced the members. As State after State came into line, the movement gathered strength, but North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify until after the new government was in operation.

The change from a confederation to a union was a great step forward. The Confederation had no way to compel the States to act as one body; it could ask for money to carry on the government, but it could lay no taxes for raising money. The Union was at once made strong by the first article of the Constitution, in which we may read: "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States."

Moreover, as amplifying this power, the Union alone could make treaties with other nations; maintain an army and navy; build forts; make rules for the admission of foreigners and foreign goods into the country; coin and issue money; adopt standards of weight and measure; have supreme control over rivers and harbors, and govern directly the territory not occupied by States.

QUESTIONS.

What was the debt incurred in the war? What three means did Congress have for paying it? What was the trouble with the paper money? What great financier gave his services? What difficulties did the debt raise in the army? Who owned the public lands? What special meaning attached to the holding of the public lands by the whole country? What was the ordinance of 1787? When trade was resumed with England, what followed? What claim did England have on the United States? What claim did Spain assert? How did the separate States treat one another? What was the Shays Rebellion? What effect did all this have on European opinion? What Western movement indicated a healthy condition? When and where did the Constitutional Convention meet? What was the process by which the Constitution was framed,

discussed, and acted on? What is *The Federalist*? What was the main difference between the Confederation and the Union?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

Give an analysis of the Ordinance of 1787. Describe the attempt to form the State of Franklin. What was the Kentucky experiment of the same sort? Name some of the powers possessed by the Union under the Constitution which the old Confederation did not have. What States have been formed out of the Northwest Territory?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

Continental money and what it would purchase during the Revolution.

An account of Shays's Rebellion.

An imaginary letter from a soldier who had been with Washington all through the Revolutionary War, written from his home at the close of the war.

Story of a boy who cared for the farm while his father was in the war.

Washington's farewell to the army.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEW UNION.

67. The Beginning of the New Government. — While the convention was forming the Constitution, the Congress of the Confederation was in session in New York. It continued to be the government of the country till the new government could go into operation. It fixed the seat of government temporarily in New York, and in that city the Congress of the United States met, March 4, 1789. It was a small body, consisting at first of twenty-two senators and fifty-nine representatives.

Meanwhile the presidential electors met and voted for President. There could be no doubt who was the first man of the nation. George Washington was unanimously chosen President, and on April 30 he took the oath of office, in Federal Hall on Wall Street, New York. "He was dressed," an eyewitness tells us, "in deep brown, with metal buttons with an eagle on them, white stockings, a bag (that is, a bag wig), and sword." John Adams was chosen Vice President, and took his place as president of the Senate.

68. The Cabinet. — Under the old Confederation there had been three executive departments, controlled by Congress: Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. In the new Union these departments were made a part of the executive department, and the President appointed Thomas Jefferson at the head of the first, with the title of Secretary of State; he appointed Henry Knox, who was a general in the army, Secretary of War, and Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury. Edmund Randolph also was appointed to be Attorney General.

This was the beginning of what we now know as the Cabinet, that is, the President's council; and it is a good illustration of how political organization grows and is not made. The Constitution is silent about a Cabinet, and yet the President's Cabinet to-day, with its nine members, is a very important part of the administration.

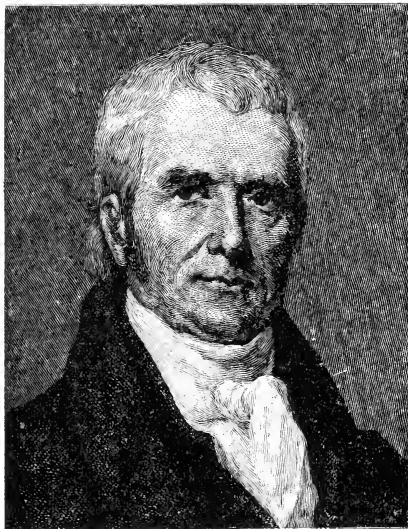
Jefferson and Hamilton. — Two of the members of Washington's Cabinet were men who had a marked influence on history. Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, was a man of scholarly tastes and attainments. It was he who afterward organized the University of Virginia. He had been minister to France, and there had seen the beginning of the French Revolution. He had a deep faith in the final judgment of the whole people, and combined in an extraordinary degree the qualities of an idealist and of a man of practical, plain sense.

Alexander Hamilton was thirteen years younger than Jefferson. He was but twenty-two years old when he wrote a letter to the superintendent of finance which showed that he had already clear and strong opinions as to the proper mode of managing the finances of the government. Hamilton was opposed to Jefferson in many of his theories. He distrusted the people, and thought government should be in the hands of a few able and influential men.¹

69. The Supreme Court. — In addition to the legislative department, consisting of Congress, and of the executive department, consisting of the President, there was a third department of government organized, the judiciary. The Constitution had provided for a Supreme Court. Washington appointed John Jay Chief Justice, and Congress proceeded to extend the system of courts by which cases could first be tried in inferior courts, and only the most important questions carried up to the Supreme Court. By far the greatest power held by the Supreme Court is that of passing upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress

¹ As Secretary of the Treasury he organized the work so well that the office is to-day administered on the lines he laid down.

or of the States. The judges hold their office during good behavior; they cannot be removed except by the long and slow process of impeachment, a mode of trial which requires the final consent of a majority of the House of Representatives to



John Marshall.

prosecute and of two thirds of the Senate to convict.

It is largely because of this secure position of the judges, that the court has been composed of very eminent men. They have interpreted the law of the Constitution, and this again has had its effect in making the amendment of the Constitution infrequent. It is a very difficult matter to change the Constitution. It requires the assent of three fourths of the

States. Wisely, the Constitution was originally so drawn that its articles were broad and comprehensive. The decisions of the Supreme Court from time to time have determined the exact application of the articles.¹

¹ Probably no single jurist did so much to determine the construction of the Constitution by decisions on the bench as John Marshall of Virginia. He was born in Fauquier County, September 24, 1755. He began the study of law when he was eighteen, but his studies were interrupted by the war. He served as captain at Brandywine and Germantown and was in camp at Valley Forge, where he made himself well known by the sound sense and good judgment with which he settled disputes between his brother officers; and both Washington and Hamilton came to esteem him highly. As soon as the war was over he took up the practice of the law, and rose rapidly to great distinction. It was he and Madison who were most influential in securing the

70. The Bill of Rights. — The only large body of amendments to the Constitution was made immediately after Congress first met. When the different State conventions discussed the Constitution, many fears were expressed lest it should make the general government too strong. Some thought the people in danger of losing their liberties, just as they had been in danger when under the king. Congress, therefore, as soon as it got to work, submitted twelve amendments to the Constitution, drawn up by James Madison. Ten of these were ratified by the States, and are known as the Bill of Rights. They were intended to guard the freedom of the people against the perils which had beset them just before the war for independence (see Appendix, p. 10).

71. The Payment of the Debt. — The most pressing business before Congress, however, was to get money to pay the debt of the Confederation. Hamilton at once saw in the payment of the debt an opportunity to give strength to the United States in the eyes of foreign nations. He saw, also, that it gave an opportunity to bind the States together in a more perfect union. He proposed that the debt which the Confederation owed to foreigners should be paid in full by the Union; that the Continental currency, which had become almost worthless, should be received by the government, and good money given in exchange.

The first proposition was adopted at once, unanimously; the second was adopted after much debate. Hamilton proposed also that the debts incurred by the several States in behalf of the common welfare should be assumed by the Union. This proposition caused great debate; it was an important move, for if the Union were to pay the State debts, it would make friends at once of all those whom the States owed.

Federalists and Anti-Federalists. — The men led by Hamilton, who desired a strong central government, were named Fed-

adoption of the Federal Constitution in Virginia. He became Chief Justice of the United States in 1800, and died July 6, 1835. The Supreme Court first sat at Washington, Feb. 4, 1801, and the centennial was very generally observed.

eralists; those opposed to them, at first for want of a better name, were called Anti-Federalists. These were more in number, but they were broken up into groups that looked after the interest of this or that State. Upon the question of the assumption of the State debts they were united, and at first they defeated Hamilton's proposition. Hamilton was bent on carrying his point, and took advantage of a dispute about the location of the capital of the country. He persuaded two Virginia congressmen to change their votes and support his measure. In return he promised to use his influence to have the capital upon the banks of the Potomac River, instead of at some Northern point. This change of votes gave him the requisite majority.

72. The United States Bank and National Revenue.—Hamilton now proposed a bank, of which the government should be a principal owner, and by means of which it could borrow money. There were then but three banks in the country. One was in Philadelphia, one in New York, and one in Boston. They were all State institutions. In establishing a bank under charter from the United States, Hamilton again met opposition from the Anti-Federalists; but he carried his point.

1791.

The next step was to raise a revenue. This was done in two ways,—by imposing duties on goods imported into the country, and by laying a tax upon the manufacture of spirituous liquors. By the first, the United States declared its right to tax foreigners; by the second, to tax its own citizens. A long step forward had been taken. The people in the colonies had resisted the English government when it had undertaken to tax them. The people of the States, though there was much grumbling, acknowledged the right of the United States to tax them. This was a government which they had themselves established.

73. The First New State.—One step more was to be taken. The thirteen colonies had become thirteen States, and had now all accepted the Constitution of the United States. Each had

its own boundaries and its own government. But the boundaries of the United States extended beyond the boundaries of the States. Out of this territory, stretching to the Mississippi, new States were to be formed. Yet the first new State was formed out of territory which was within the boundaries of the old States. It was formed by the United States in the exercise of the power which the nation had to determine membership in the Union. The territory now occupied by Vermont was claimed in part by New York, in part by New Hampshire. The people living there had fought bravely in the war, under the name of the Green Mountain Boys. They had set up an independent government during 1791. the war, and now desired to enter the Union. They settled their disputes with the neighboring States, and Vermont was admitted as the fourteenth State.¹

¹ In 1777 Vermont declared itself an independent State, and for fourteen years held a singular position. It was in harmony with the rest of the country in opposing Great Britain, but it was quite as determined against any claim upon its territory which might be set up by New York or New Hampshire. The British authorities made an attempt to play upon this strong feeling by offering to secure its position as an independent province if it would keep its allegiance to the crown; and the bargaining was not discontinued when the war closed. The State contributed very largely to the settlement of Western States, especially Michigan. It has in recent years received itself many newcomers from Canada. The State has sent a number of eminent men to Congress, and the length of service of two in particular has been noticeable. Senator George F. Edmunds represented the State continuously from 1866 to 1891, when he retired from public life. Justin Smith Morrill, who was born April 14, 1810, was elected to the House of Representatives and served steadily from December 3, 1855, to March 3, 1867, when he became Senator, and served continuously till his death, December 28, 1898. Vermont has been largely an agricultural and a grazing country, special attention being given to dairy products. The name is from the French *Verts Monts*, signifying Green Mountains. A capital storybook about revolutionary days is *The Green Mountain Boys. Vermont*, in the *American Commonwealths* series, is a good, compact account of the State.

QUESTIONS.

How long did the old Confederation last? What was the seat of government? When and where was Washington inaugurated? Who were the first members of the Cabinet? Give some account of Jefferson; of Hamilton. Into what three main divisions was the government divided? What is the duty of the Supreme Court? What was the Bill of Rights? What was the first business of importance before Congress? What proposals did the Secretary of the Treasury make? What were the two political parties? How did the site of the capital come to be chosen? What banks were there in the country, and why did Hamilton propose a new one? How was revenue raised? What was the significance of the taxes now laid? What new State was added to the Union? What was its origin?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

How are the members of the Cabinet appointed and confirmed? What determines the number of the representatives at any one time? Is there any limit to the age at which a senator or representative may be chosen? Is any American citizen eligible for the Presidency? Who are citizens of the United States? Explain the process of naturalization.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.**COMPOSITIONS:**

An account of Hamilton's public speech when a student at King's College.

The Green Mountain Boys.

An account of Washington's inauguration.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That Hamilton was justified in the means he took to secure the assumption of the State debts.

Resolved, That a republic is always the best government.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Gin (*jīn*). The word is a short form of "engine."

Presbyte'rian. *Prēs'by-ter* is a Greek word, meaning "elder." The Presbyterians are so called because they hold that the Church should be governed by elders chosen by the churches, and not,

as in the Episcopal Church, by bishops. "Episcopal" is from another Greek word, *Epis'-ko-pōs*, meaning "overseer," or "bishop."

Watauga (*wä-tā'gä*).

Sevier (*se-vēr'*).

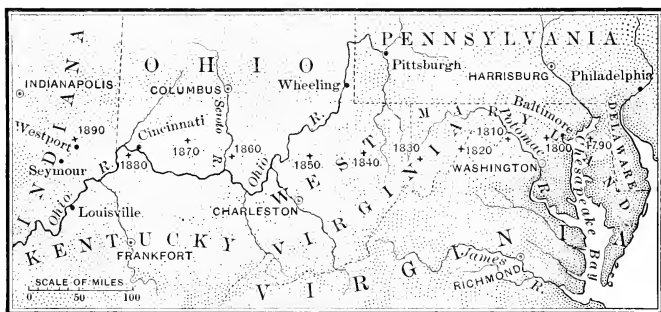
74. The first census of the United States was taken in 1790, and showed a population of a little less than four millions.¹ The most populous State was Virginia. After that came Pennsylvania, then North Carolina, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, South Carolina, and Connecticut. The four millions, of whom a little more than one fifth were slaves, occupied a belt of country which lay chiefly between the Alleghanies and the sea. The most thickly settled parts were along river courses and about commodious harbors. So close to the seacoast did most of the people live, that the center of population was twenty-three miles east of Baltimore. In all this Atlantic territory there were but five towns which had a population of more than ten thousand. They were Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore.

75. The Chief Industries.—By far the greatest number of people dwelt on their farms, and lived by what they raised from the soil. They had no labor-saving machines, but on the banks of streams they had mills for grinding corn or sawing lumber. The farmer at the North plowed his field with a horse or ox plow, dropped his seed by hand, and used the hoe and

¹ The census of 1890 showed a population of over sixty-two millions.

rake. When harvest time came, he cut his grass with a scythe, reaped his grain with a sickle, and threshed it with a flail. Sometimes, if he had a large crop, he used his horses to tread out the grain.

The planter at the South raised tobacco in a field until he had drawn all the life out of the soil. Then he left the ruined land and planted another field. He raised rice in the marsh land. He found that cotton would grow well, but to get it ready for spinning was slow work. The Northern farmer also planted cotton; but he found it would not grow well, and so he gave up trying to raise it.



Western Movement of Center of Population.¹

76. The Cotton Gin. — The cotton plant is a native of India. It has pods, which open when ripe and show a soft, downy substance containing seeds. The woolly fiber is separated from the seeds, and then is ready to be cleaned and carded for spinning and weaving. But the work of separating the fiber by hand is so slow that a laborer can prepare only a single pound a day. While, therefore, the planter was shipping large cargoes of tobacco and rice, he sent but little cotton. In 1792 only about a hundred and forty thousand pounds of cotton were exported from the entire South.

¹ If you imagine the surface of the United States a flat board balanced on a pole, and the people distributed over it where they live, the center of gravity would correspond with the points marked.

Three years later, over six million pounds were exported. This sudden increase was due to the ingenuity of one man, Eli Whitney,¹ who invented the cotton gin. It was not a very complicated machine, and it was adopted at once wherever cotton was raised. The planters now planted more fields and imported more slaves. It was not long before cotton became the chief crop of the South. It was easily planted and picked by the slaves. The cotton gin got it ready to be made into bales, and then it was sent out of the country.

77. The Manufacture of Cotton. — The people of India have always made cloth out of the cotton which they raise. When England began to get control of India, English merchants brought the cotton to England



Eli Whitney.

¹ Whitney was born in Westboro, Massachusetts, December 8, 1765. During the war for independence he was engaged in making nails, which in those days were wrought singly by hand. He worked his way through Yale College, graduating in 1792, and then went to Georgia to teach. The widow of General Greene gave him a home, and he was so clever in contrivances in her house, that when some friends were complaining that there was no profit in raising the best cotton, owing to the great difficulty of separating the fiber from the seed, she advised them to apply to Whitney. He had never seen any cotton seed or raw cotton and had to make the tools and to draw the wire with which he experimented, but after several months' labor he produced the gin. Afterward he returned to the North and engaged in the manufacture of firearms near New Haven. His buildings became the models upon which the National armories were afterward built. He died at New Haven, January 8, 1825.

and set Englishmen at work spinning and weaving it. At first they worked by hand, as the people of India did; but soon they invented machines and built factories. The application of steam to machinery increased enormously the manufacturing interest in England.

In the Southern States of the Union the slaves were not trained to work which required skill. Thus, while a little cotton was spun or woven by hand for coarser clothes used on the plantations, the greater part was sent to England to be made up into cloth. Then English merchants sold this cloth in the United States. In the Northern States almost everybody worked with his hands. The men on the farms made and mended tools and built buildings. The women spun and wove chiefly flax and wool.

So it came about that when New England ships sailed to Southern ports, they brought some of the cotton back to the North. The English manufacturers wished to retain the business in their own hands. But it was not long before Americans were making machinery like that in use in England. The first machinery capable of spinning cotton yarn, equal to that made in England, was set up by Samuel Slater, at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790.

78. Other Manufacturing. — Besides the crops which the farms and plantations yielded, there were forests, which gave wood for building and for fuel. Beneath the ground was a rich store of iron, lead, coal, and other minerals. Very little was yet known of all this hidden wealth, and there were very few contrivances for turning the ore into manufactured articles. The laws of Great Britain had required the people of the colonies to send their iron ore to England. The war put an end to this, and people set up iron works in the districts in which the ore was found. These works began to multiply, but the best articles still came from England.

79. Education and Religion. — The people were still poor, but they began to plan for schools for their children, and even for new colleges. In 1789 Massachusetts made attendance upon

school compulsory, and before the end of the century several academies had been founded in that and other New England States. In 1795, Governor Clinton, of New York, recommended the legislature to establish common schools throughout the State. It was many years, however, before there was anything like a public-school system throughout the country. The care of the public schools is one of the great duties of the separate States. The general government has little to do in this respect.

There was very little paper made in the country, and books were dear. Schoolbooks were few in number; but a young schoolmaster, Noah Webster, had just made a speller, and was at work upon a dictionary. There were only 1783. three or four public libraries in the entire country, and but forty-three newspapers, in 1783.

There were churches in all the older communities. Before the war for independence some of these had been partly supported by the government. But when the State governments were formed, and when the Federal Constitution was adopted, taxes for the support of ministers were abolished in most of the States. It was provided in the Constitution that "no religious tests should ever be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States." The first amendment to the Constitution also had the words: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."¹

The churches were supported by the free-will offerings of the people who attended them. But the people believed so firmly that religion and education are necessary to freedom, that they laid no taxes upon property devoted to religious and charitable purposes, nor upon property used for schools and colleges. This separation of the churches from the State was one of the greatest points of difference between the New

¹ The State of Virginia was the first to abolish religious tests. Madison was most influential in bringing this about, as also in extending the principle to the Federal Constitution.

World and the Old. No sooner was the new nation fairly established, than religious societies began to grow, as plants grow to which are given free air, sunshine, shower, and favorable soil.

80. The Western Movement. — The people of the United States living in the old thirteen States were largely of English origin, and they were influenced by English laws and manners and customs. But they had been practiced in governing themselves; they had turned colonies into States, and now it was to be seen how they would proceed to make new States in the great Western world beyond the mountains which had come into their possession.

There were **three main lines of movement** to the West: one followed the valley of the Mohawk to the Great Lakes; that was the road taken by people in the New England States and New York. A second followed the river courses of Pennsylvania, passed through gaps in the Alleghanies, and came upon the eastern branches of the Ohio River. The third crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and struck the Cumberland, Tennessee, and other rivers flowing into the Ohio, and thence to the great Mississippi. The first of these routes was the last to be developed, because Great Britain retained control of the Great Lakes till 1795.

The Scotch-Irish and Other Frontiersmen. — In order to trace the lines by which the first States were formed out of the Western country, we need to go back to a date before the war for independence. At first those who crossed the mountains were traders, hunters, and trappers; but as the lands to the east of the mountains were taken up, families would move boldly into the vacant lands beyond. The people who thus pushed the frontier westward were mainly those who had already been accustomed to live remote from cities and towns. They were a hardy, self-reliant, backwoods people.

A very important race element was that of the Scotch-Irish, as they were called, descendants of the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland and south of Scotland, whose religious belief

had made them good fighters and sturdy, independent men. They cleared the forest with the ax and protected themselves against wild beasts and savage Indians with the rifle. A log hut would be built by a family and a clearing made. Thus on the edge of the wilderness a new home would be formed. A group of families would build a stockade fort, and here they would meet for mutual safety when there was an Indian war.

As these people pushed the frontier westward and moved farther away from the Eastern settlements, they came more into the midst of the Indians, and in 1763 the English government even went so far as to forbid the settlement of lands west of the sources of the rivers that flowed into the Atlantic. The policy of England was to keep settlers near the Atlantic coast, where English goods would be sold to them; and to reserve the regions beyond the mountains for the fur trade.

But the backwoodsmen paid little heed to such orders, and in 1768, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Six Nations gave up to the English all the title they might possess to lands south of a line running west from Fort Stanwix to the Allegheny, and along the Ohio, and as far south as the Tennessee. This treaty gave an impulse to the westward movement. The people occupying the territory, except some lawless adventurers, believed in law and order, and when they found themselves widely separated from the State in which they had lived, they formed associations and agreed to abide by the laws they should make.

81. The Beginning of Kentucky. — The hunters who had first penetrated the wilderness often served as guides to parties moving over the mountains. One of these early pioneers was Daniel Boone, of North Carolina. He went on long hunting excursions, and was so in love with the banks of the Kentucky River that shortly after the treaty he moved his family to the new land and persuaded his neighbors to follow. He made a settlement, which took the name of Boonesborough.¹

¹ He was captured once by the Indians, when on a raid against them, and learning that they were to attack Boonesborough, he made his escape. "On

Others followed from Virginia and North Carolina. The country was that claimed by Virginia, and upon a petition from many of the inhabitants Virginia erected it into a county, with the boundaries of the present State of Kentucky. In



Daniel Boone.

1792 the county was made a State, the first to be admitted into the Union from the country beyond the Alleghanies.¹

32. The Southwestern Territory.—At the same time that Boone went to Kentucky, a company of settlers pushed down the valley of the Watauga River. They found themselves in a country claimed by North Carolina, and their settlement was re-enforced soon by a party headed by John Robertson, which crossed

the mountains from North Carolina. A little later came John Sevier, a frontier trader with the Indians, and these two men,

the 16th of June," he says, "before sunrise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonesborough on the 20th, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which I had but one meal."

¹ Kentucky appears to be an Indian term for "hunting ground." In recent days a considerable portion, with Lexington for its center, has been spoken of as the "blue-grass region," from the peculiar tint of its rich herbage. Our fathers often spoke of it as the "dark and bloody ground," because of the savage warfare that went on there in the early days of the State. After the War of 1812, the commercial growth of the State was very rapid; it became the great source of supplies for the country lying to the west and northwest. Shaler's *Kentucky*, in the *American Commonwealths* series, pays much attention to the natural resources of the State and the character of its population.

Robertson and Sevier, became the leaders of the community. Under their direction, in 1772, the people formed themselves into the Watauga Association and elected what was in effect a court, with the laws of Virginia for the standard.

For six years thus these American-born people governed themselves. Then North Carolina formed Washington County out of all the country included in the present State of Tennessee, and the Watauga Association came to an end; but there was no break in the reign of law. After the States had ceded their Western land to the general government, Congress erected this portion into the Southwestern Territory and appointed a governor.

83. Organization of Tennessee. — The people who had their homes in this new country were used to governing themselves. They were uneasy until they could have a State on an equality with all the other States. So, upon the call of the governor of the territory, fifty-five delegates from the eleven counties met at Knoxville. They were each to be allowed two dollars and a half a day for their services. They discovered that no provision had been made for a secretary, doorkeeper, and printer. So the convention passed the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas economy is an amiable trait in any government, and, in fixing the salaries of the officers thereof, the resources and situation of the country should be attended to: therefore one dollar and a half per diem is enough for us, and no more will a man of us take; and the rest shall go to the payment of the secretary, printer, doorkeeper, and other officers." The delegates were rude farmers and backwoodsmen, but they were also men who loved law and true liberty. Thus the great State of Tennessee was born, not with pomp and parade, but with the real dignity which belongs to people who respect one another.¹ 1796.

¹ Tennessee is, in the Indian tongue, "the river of the great bend." See, for a detailed narrative of the formation and development of the State, Phelan's *History of Tennessee*.

84. Pioneer Life. — These Western pioneers carried with them laws, government, and courts; but life was very different with them from what it was in the older settlements. When they crossed the mountains, the men and boys and strong women went afoot; the children and household goods were carried on pack horses, for there were as yet no roads for wagons. Though the "wilderness road" opened by Boone was at first the route followed, very soon the great body of emigrants went to the Monongahela and there took boats and floated down the Ohio to Youngstown, and thence journeyed inland.

The cabins of the poorer were made of unhewn logs and held but a single room; and in the river bank settlements were often constructed of the planks which had formed the boats in which they had floated down the Ohio. The better cabins had their logs hewn; besides the large common room in which they gathered for meals, there was a small bedroom and a kitchen; in the unfinished loft above, reached by ladder, the boys of the family slept. The beds were covered with bear skins and the hides of deer they had shot. Their tables and stools were often nothing but slabs of wood set on legs.

Here in the wilderness, the pioneers had to depend on themselves. The men and boys made a clearing on the edge of the forest and cultivated the land. They had to bring the plows from the older settlements, but some of the simpler implements they made themselves. They raised hogs and sheep, and hunted game. A hand mill and a hominy block were in every cabin. The women spun the flax that was raised, and wove linsey-wolsey cloth from flax and wool; the hides of deer were tanned and used for leggings and boots. What they needed and could not supply themselves was brought from some distant town once a year by trains of pack horses, which carried in exchange the skins they had tanned; or goods came in the boats that floated down the river.

The social life of the early English settlers on the coast was repeated here in the backwoods, but in a more hearty and

boisterous way. They had their house raisings and house warmings, quiltings and corn huskings; and these meetings were occasions for athletic sports, and trials of strength of all kinds among the young men. There was often a very rough side to their games, for the community was made up of men who lived in the open air and fought wild beasts and Indians.

There were few schools, and only the simplest things were taught. Meeting houses also were rare, but the people were a religious people and read their Bibles with great earnestness. The preachers who visited them went from settlement to settlement by turn, and their coming was a great event.

One result of this common life of the pioneers was seen in the **social equality** of the people. Where all worked and helped each other, it was not possible to keep up distinction of rank; whereas, in the seaboard settlements, there still survived signs of the earlier days when the distinctions of society in Europe had passed over into the colonies.

QUESTIONS.

What was the population of the United States in 1790? What was it a hundred years later? What was the order in population of the eight most populous? Which were the largest towns? What was the chief occupation of the people? What primitive modes of cultivation were used? Describe the raising of cotton, and state what gave a great impulse to its cultivation. What effect did the invention of the cotton gin have on Southern life? Describe the series of steps by which the South came to raise cotton and the North to manufacture cotton cloth. What other manufactures were there? When did the school system begin to come into use? Who was Noah Webster? What did the Constitution have to do with religious societies? What has been the effect of voluntary support of churches? Name the three main lines of movement to the West. Mention one of the race elements in the Western movement. What were some of its characteristics? What influence did the Indians have on the early Western settlements? Narrate the beginning of Kentucky. How was the Southwestern Territory formed, and who were prominent men in it? Narrate the incident connected with the organization of the State of Tennessee. How did the early pioneers live? How were they clothed and fed? What was the social life of the settlers, and to what did it lead?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

How is the census taken ? When was steam applied to machinery in England, and by whom ? Name the chief libraries in the country in 1783. What led to the planting of the Scotch in Ireland ? Were there Presbyterians in New England, and if so, where ?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.**COMPOSITIONS :**

The tracing of a piece of cotton cloth from the first planting of the seed.

An account of a newspaper of the last century.

A comparison of a Western pioneer with a colonist who came over in the Mayflower.

DEBATE :

Resolved, That it is better for government that members of the legislature should serve without pay.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

Bastile (bās-tēl').

Genet (zhě-nā').

Neutral. In time of war, belonging to neither party to the war.

Wabash (wā'bash).

Maneuver (mā-nōō'ver). The

French word thus made English is *manœuvre*. An adroit movement.

Alien (āl'yēn). Belonging to another country.

85. America and the Old World.—The New World was still a part of the Old. It was indeed no longer a political part of it; the people living on the western shore of the Atlantic had declared and won their independence as a nation, but they were still very dependent on Europe. Many lived by the commerce which they carried on with European ports. All were deeply interested in what was going on in the Old World.

On the other hand, the United States was an object of great interest to Europe. The alliance with France brought Frenchmen to America, and increased the communication between the two countries. The French officers and soldiers who had helped the new nation to acquire its independence returned home, and everywhere spread accounts of the republic. The Federal Constitution and the constitutions of the States were translated into French. A great number of books, pamphlets, and papers about America were scattered through the country.¹

The French Revolution and American Parties.—It is not strange that when a revolution in France broke forth, there

¹ See, for a full treatment of this interesting subject, Lewis Rosenthal's *America and France: the Influence of the United States on France in the XVIIIth Century*.

should have been a strong sympathy between France and the United States. The French Republic was formed shortly after the establishment of the Union. There was an enthusiasm among the French people for America. 1789. There was an eagerness in America for the success of the French people. Many of the officers who had been in America took part in the French Revolution. Lafayette was Vice President of the National Assembly; and when the people destroyed the Bastille, the old prison house of Paris, he sent its key to Washington. It was a sign that France, too, was free.

Clubs sprang up all over the United States in imitation of French republican clubs. French fashions of speech and dress were imitated. The American newspapers printed everything that could be learned about the progress of the French Revolution. Celebrations of victories by the French people were held, at which speeches were made by Americans who were in sympathy with France. The Federalist party, headed by Hamilton, looked with distrust on the Revolution in France; the Anti-Federalist, or Republican party, as it now began to be called, headed by Jefferson, was enthusiastic in its support of the revolutionary party; and thus these two American parties divided on European politics.

86. The War between France and England.— But it soon ceased to be a question of political sentiment. Early in 1793 the French Republic declared war against England, and it became necessary for the United States to take some action. By the treaty she had made with France when engaged in the war for independence, the United States was to defend the French West Indies against Great Britain. Jefferson maintained that this treaty was still binding; Hamilton, that the change of government in France had annulled the treaty; but both agreed that it was all important for the United States to keep out of this European war. Washington accordingly issued a proclamation of neutrality.

It was an important act, the first in a series of acts by which

the United States has kept free from entanglement with European affairs. But this was not what France wanted. That country wanted to draw the American people into the war, and sent out an agent, named Genet, who began issuing commissions to privateers and told them to bring their prizes into ports of the United States. The French consuls in those ports were to act as judges. Genet finding himself at every step opposed by the United States government, undertook to ignore its authority and appealed to the people; but Washington compelled France to recall her imprudent agent.

87. Jay's Treaty.—The rash performance of Genet served to cool the enthusiasm for France and to strengthen the hands of the English party, but England unfortunately followed a course which incensed the Americans and almost brought on a renewal of war. She claimed the right to lay hold of any provision for the enemy which she might find in a neutral vessel; to seize the produce of French colonies wherever found; and to board any vessel, make search for seamen of British birth, and carry them off for her own service.

The humiliation of having vessels searched, and the injustice often done by carrying off American seamen on the plea that they were British, led Congress into taking steps of retaliation. Non-intercourse with England was proposed, and the country was hurrying into war when Washington made a final attempt to bring about a better understanding between the two countries. He appointed Chief Justice John Jay to be Envoy Extraordinary¹ to England. Jay was instructed to form a treaty, in which the points in dispute between the two countries should be settled. He carried out his instructions, and returned to the United States, where the treaty was ratified by the Senate.

It was not an entirely satisfactory treaty. It provided for the removal of the English garrisons which still held the posts on the lakes; it made rules for the regulation of the com-

¹ The title given to an ambassador sent by one nation to another on a special mission.

merce of the two countries; but it left to England the right to search American vessels for British seamen, and it put difficulties in the way of trade with the West Indies. The terms of the treaty became known after the Senate ratified it. An outcry was at once raised against it. The newspapers were filled with discussions. Hamilton and others defended it by speeches and letters. Washington deliberated long, but finally signed it. His act was followed by the bitterest attacks upon his patriotism and character. He signed the treaty because, imperfect though it was, it was better than none. It was the first substantial recognition which England had made of the sovereign rights of the United States. The result proved his wisdom; war was averted, commerce revived, and many who had denounced the treaty became its friends.

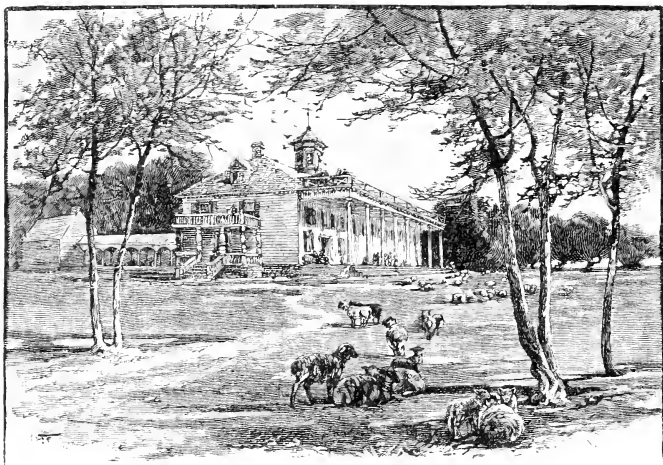
88. The Western Posts and the Indians. — The removal of the English garrisons from the Western posts was a great point gained. So long as they remained, the Indians were constantly incited by them to annoy the settlers on the frontier. Companies of American soldiers were sent out to fight the Indians; but they failed, and the Indians vexed the settlements still more. The most serious defeat was that suffered by St. Clair near the head waters of the Wabash, in 1791.¹ At last the chief command in the West was given to General Anthony Wayne. Washington, who was well acquainted with Indian warfare, gave him minute instructions. Wayne took the field in 1793, built forts as he advanced, and by vigorous assaults and quick movements gained complete victory over the Indians. They signed a treaty of peace in 1795, in which they abandoned their claim to a large territory.

89. The Whisky Rebellion. — In the meantime an affair occurred within the borders of the old thirteen colonies which was of importance as demonstrating that the new government,

¹ It was on the occasion of hearing the news of St. Clair's defeat, that Washington burst into a torrent of indignant speech, one of the few times when this man of self-control gave way. See the account in my *George Washington*.

besides being able to settle affairs with foreign countries and with Indians, could quell internal disorders. Congress had laid a tax on distilled spirits. Now the people in western Pennsylvania carried their grain to market in the shape of whisky, and they objected to the taxing of whisky, when the people east of the mountains were not taxed on the grain they carried to market in the form of grain. An insurrection arose, and the governor of the State

1794.



Mt. Vernon.

was unable to suppress it; whereupon Washington called for troops from the neighboring States, and the force of the Federal government put down the insurrection. People began to have more confidence in the Union when it was found strong enough to keep the peace in an unruly State.

90. Washington's Farewell Address.—After serving two terms as President, George Washington returned to private life at Mt. Vernon. He had been for more than twenty years the foremost man of the country in the eyes of the world. When he left the Presidency, he made a Farewell

Address to the People of the United States. In that address, which is weighty with wisdom, he urged the people to prize the Union which they had formed. He bade them remember

Sept. 17,
1796.

that each part of the country had free intercourse with all the other parts, and that each could help the others. He begged them to suffer no parties to rise within the Union which should weaken its strength, and he called on them to glory in the name of American. He reminded them that Europe had interests with which America had little concern. "Extend your business relations with Europe," he said in effect, "but do not be dragged into her politics. Do not suffer yourselves to have passionate attachments for other nations. Be strong in yourselves, and you will be independent of the Old World."¹

91. Administration of John Adams. — This note of alarm was needed at the time, for the two political parties in the country were still divided largely on European lines. John Adams, who was chosen as Washington's successor, was a Federalist; Thomas Jefferson, who was chosen Vice President, was the leader of the Democratic-Republican party, as the Anti-Federalists were now called. Jay's treaty, which prevented war with England, almost caused war with France. That country sent the American minister out of the land. French cruisers seized in a few months as many as a thousand American vessels. They pretended that the captains were giving aid to the enemy, and they condemned the vessels to be sold.

Envoys to France. — The President was anxious to avoid war with France, and he took somewhat the same course which Washington had followed with England. He sent a special commission of three envoys to France,—John Marshall, afterward Chief Justice, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry. But France was then in the hands of wild revolutionists, who treated the envoys with the greatest indignity. They employed secret agents to deal with the envoys. These agents told the envoys that they must pay a

¹ The text of the *Farewell Address* is printed in No. 4 of *Old South Leaflets*.

sum of money to the government before they could be received at all. After that the United States must lend money to France to enable her to carry on her war. When this was done, France would repeal some of the acts which injured American commerce.

The envoys indignantly refused to accept such terms, and were ordered to leave France. The United States government at once published the report of the envoys, including the correspondence which they had with the agents. The names of the agents were concealed under the letters X, Y, Z. So great was the indignation in America that Congress made ready for a war with France. Washington was called from Mt. Vernon, and placed at the head of a new army. The navy was strengthened, privateers were fitted out, and a French privateer and frigate were captured in the West Indies.

92. The Alien and Sedition Acts.—Pinckney had declared, “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute”; the words were taken up as a popular cry. The country was on the side of the government. The Federalists, who had been losing ground, were now stronger than before. They attempted to strengthen the government still further 1798. by passing in Congress two acts called the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Alien laws gave the President power to send out of the country any alien whom he might regard as dangerous to the peace of the country. The Sedition laws gave him power to fine and imprison any who might be found guilty of conspiring against the government or maliciously attacking it. These laws placed a power in the hands of the government which alarmed the Democratic-Republicans. They said the laws were aimed against them. They opposed the action, not as friends of France, but as Americans. They believed that less power should be given to the Federal government and more to the separate States.

93. The Beginning of the State-rights Doctrine.—This belief, which so nearly prevented the adoption of the Constitution,

had never disappeared. It showed itself on every occasion, and helped to shape the course of the Democratic-Republican party. This party came to be called the State-rights party, because it was jealous lest the States should not have all their rights under the Constitution. Thus, when the Federalists forced through Congress the Alien and Sedition Laws, the Democratic-Republicans passed certain resolutions in the State legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky. These resolutions¹ declared that the action of the Federal government was unconstitutional, and that it was the duty of the States

1798. to combine and refuse obedience. The resolutions maintained the theory that the Constitution was a compact between the States, and that the States together were the judges to decide if Federal laws were constitutional.

94. **Napoleon's Friendship.** — Meanwhile, though there was open hostility between the United States and France, war was not actually declared. The President sent a new embassy to

1799. France. Napoleon Bonaparte, then at the head of affairs in that country, was wiser than those who had driven away the former envoys. In his plans the conquest of England had a large place. He saw the importance of a friendship with the American republic, and welcomed the embassy. He ordered the French cruisers to cease vexing American vessels. A treaty followed, which was received with great favor by both countries.

95. **The Death of Washington.** — George Washington died on the 14th of December, 1799, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow citizens."² The people of the land mourned for him whom they had learned to call the Father of his Country. In the year following, the seat of government was moved to the site which he had chosen on the banks of the Potomac. The city there laid out received the name of Washington.

¹ Madison drew the Virginia resolutions, and Jefferson the Kentucky.

² These were the words of a resolution of Congress.

QUESTIONS.

In what respect was the New World still a part of the Old? How did the American Revolution affect France? How did the French Revolution affect America? What effect did the war between France and England have on America? Who was Genet and what did he undertake to do? How did England estrange American feeling? What course did Washington pursue? How was Jay's treaty regarded? What was the state of things in the West? What was the end of the Indian War? Narrate the events of the Whisky Rebellion. What was the substance of Washington's Farewell Address? How many years had Washington been President? Who succeeded him in the administration? What was the effect of Jay's treaty on relations with France? How did President Adams meet the difficulties which arose? Who were the envoys to France? What treatment did they receive? What policy did the Federalists pursue? How did the opposition meet the Alien and Sedition Laws? What part did Napoleon Bonaparte now play? What was the date of Washington's death? How is his name perpetuated?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was the origin of the French Revolution? Who laid out the city of Washington? What is the history of the Capitol? What does the Constitution say respecting treaties? What is meant by "executive session"? Who is an alien? Distinguish between an ambassador, a minister, and a consul.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.**COMPOSITIONS:**

The White House.

A visit to Mt. Vernon.

Napoleon Bonaparte.

Account of a visit to Washington.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That Jay's treaty should not have been ratified.

CHAPTER X.

THE EXPANSION OF THE UNION.

Ceded (sēd'ēd). Gave up.

96. Jefferson's Administration and the Occupation of Ohio. — The first President to be inaugurated at Washington was Thomas Jefferson. He was elected to succeed John Adams, and held office for two terms, 1801–1809; for the power of the Federalists had waned, and the party which stood for more democratic theories of government was behind the administration. There was peace for a while in Europe, and the United States was less distracted from attention to its own interior development. When the various States ceded their Western lands to the Union, Connecticut reserved a strip of land still popularly known as the Western Reserve, running along the shore of Lake Erie. Not till 1800 was that land given up to the Union. Meanwhile, settlers from Connecticut had been occupying it, and Cleveland was staked out in 1795.

But it took three months for emigrants to make their way thither from Connecticut. The New England people had not at this time gone in large numbers to the Northwest except to the Western Reserve; they had stopped in the fertile lands of the Mohawk Valley. The stream of emigration flowed rather from western Pennsylvania and the upper tier of Southern States. The frontiersmen were pushing up into the Northwestern Territory, and in 1800 this was cut into two sections, the territories of Ohio and Indiana. In 1803 the territory of Ohio became the State of Ohio.¹ The founders of Ohio encouraged settlers by laying no taxes for four years

¹ The movement into the fertile fields of Ohio began in 1787–1788, when a company of forty-seven persons, under General Rufus Putnam, came from

upon land bought of the United States. The United States in return gave to the State one section in each township for the support of common schools.¹ Thus it was made easy for

Massachusetts to Pittsburg, where they built a boat which they named the *Mayflower*, and after five days' passage down the river, settled upon the banks where the Muskingum joins the Ohio, and named the place Marietta. Manasseh Cutler, who had much to do with securing the ordinance of 1787, wrote a description of the country at that time, which is printed in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 40. About the same time, John Cleves Symmes obtained a grant of one million acres, bounded south by the Ohio and west by the Miami; and two settlements were made, at South Bend, in what was afterwards Indiana, and Cincinnati. It is interesting to see how the name Sherman has been identified with the history of the State. In 1805, the proprietors of that part of the Western Reserve known as the Firelands put their property into the hands of Taylor Sherman. His son, Charles R. Sherman, was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the State, and he, again, had two sons, General William Tecumseh Sherman, and Senator, afterwards Secretary, John Sherman. The State has given more Presidents to the nation than any beside Virginia. It took its name from the river, so called by the Iroquois, meaning "Beautiful River." For a history, see *Ohio in American Commonwealths*.

¹ The township in the West differs widely from the town in New England. It is the result of the simple but comprehensive system of surveys instituted by Congress in 1785. According to this system the government surveyors have marked out north and south lines called principal meridians. One of these is the dividing line between Ohio and Indiana. On each side of the principal meridians are range lines six miles apart. These all run north and south. Then a base line is drawn crossing these meridians on a true parallel of latitude. On each side of the base line at distances of six miles are drawn township lines. Thus the whole is marked off into townships six miles square, except in the Western Reserve, where it is five, and each township again is divided into thirty-six square sections, each one mile square, or 640 acres. Number sixteen of these sections in each township, which is the central one, is the one which has been reserved for the school fund. Here the schoolhouse has been placed, and has become the center of town life in many ways. The following diagram will make the arrangement of numbering clear:

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	16	15	14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

men to settle there, and they were encouraged to provide education for their children.

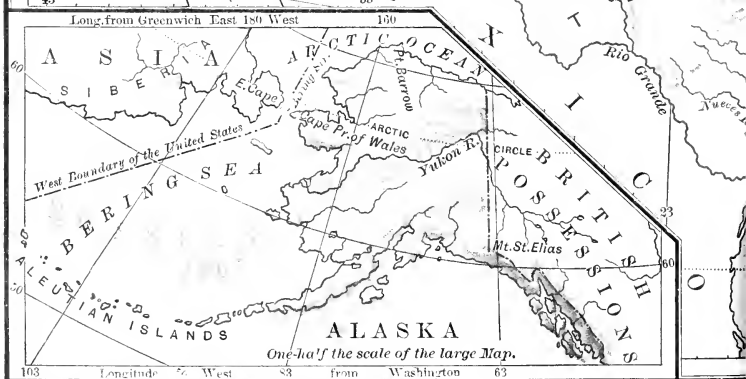
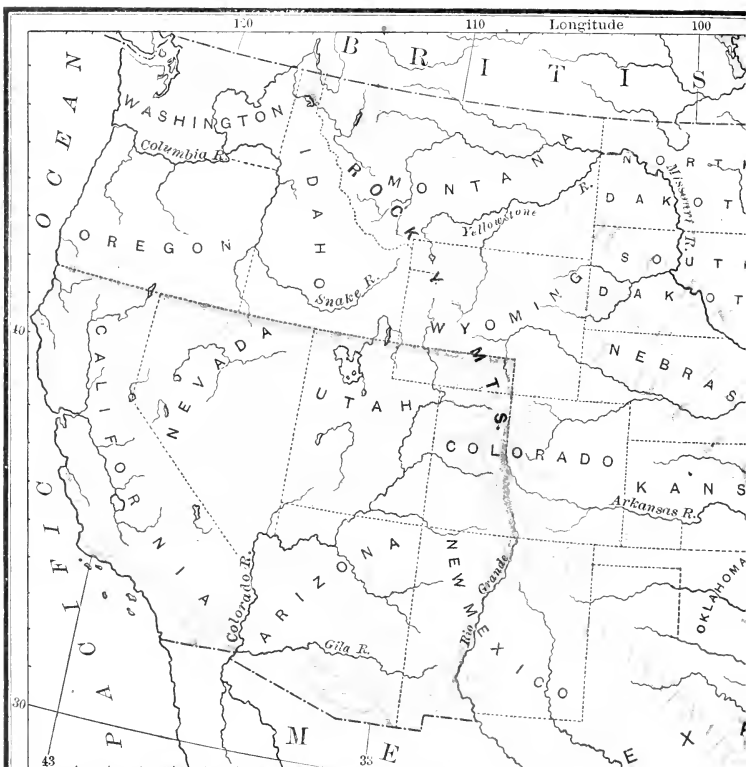
97. Pinckney's Treaty. — By the terms of the Jay treaty, both England and the United States were to have free use of the Mississippi, but neither country controlled the mouth of that river. The Spanish had a fortified post at New Orleans, and they laid a heavy tax upon all merchandise passing that way. At the same time that Jay was negotiating his treaty with England, Thomas Pinckney was making a treaty with Spain. He secured the southern boundary claimed by the United States and what was known as the right of deposit at New Orleans, or elsewhere, by which it was made possible to ship goods to that port and afterwards to reship them without paying a heavy duty. The treaty gave great satisfaction to the Western men, but the Spanish were very slow in carrying out the agreement; it was not till 1797 that they gave up the posts at Natchez and elsewhere, and in 1798 this section was organized as Mississippi territory.

98. The Purchase of Louisiana. — All the possessions of the United States lay to the east of the Mississippi River, but the state of affairs in Europe led now to most important expansion to the west of that river. Spain had made a secret treaty with

France by which she ceded the territory of Louisiana.
1800. Jefferson, learning of this, sent a commission to France to buy the island on which New Orleans stood, and also the right of passage to the sea. He did this at

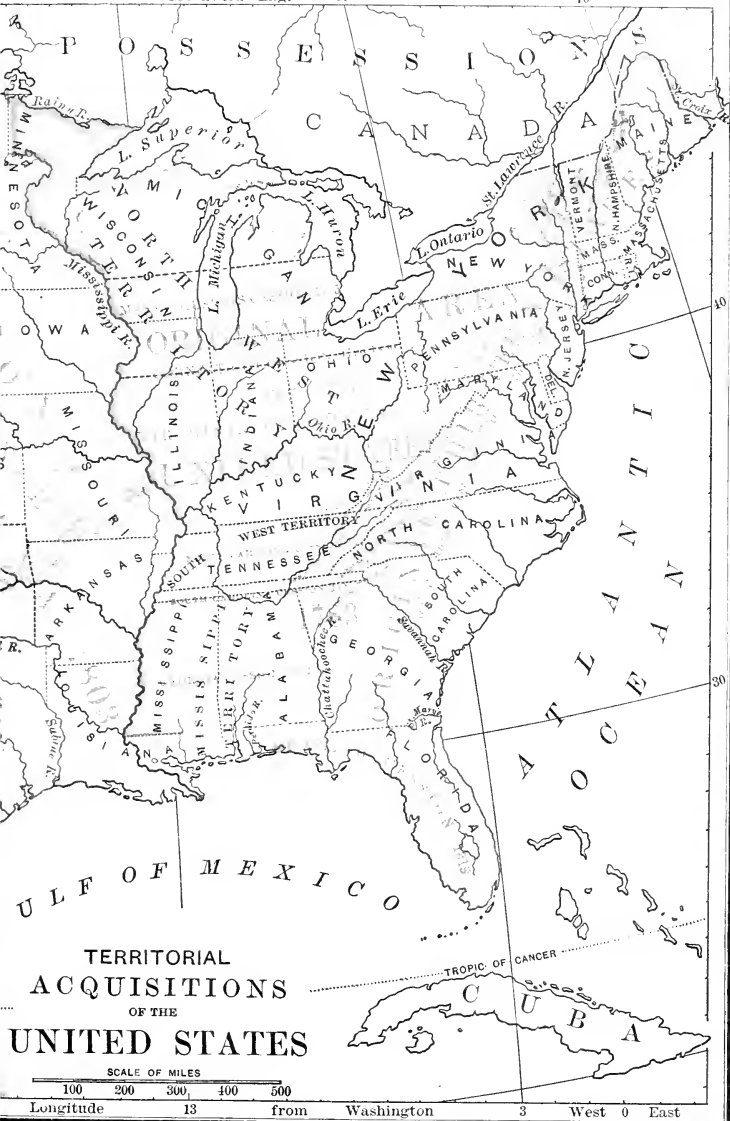
1802. the urgent demand of Western men, who were in a state of great indignation because the right of deposit at New Orleans had suddenly been withdrawn, and no other spot named.

Bonaparte was at this time expecting a war between France and England. He knew that in case of war an English fleet would be sent to the Gulf to take possession of Louisiana. It would be impossible for the French to hold the post of New Orleans; but he was determined that the place should not fall into the hands of his great enemy. While the American com-



One-half the scale of the large Map.

70





missioners were considering the purchase of New Orleans, he came forward with a proposition to sell not only what they wanted, but all Louisiana. The commissioners had been instructed to offer two and a half million dollars for the island. Bonaparte named the price of twenty million dollars for the whole country.

He would not give the commissioners time to consult with the American government. England might declare war at any moment. So, after some bargaining, it was agreed that France should make over to the United States all the territory which she had lately received from Spain. The United States was to pay France fifteen million dollars. Bonaparte was delighted with the sale. He had received a large sum for a country which he would shortly have had to surrender to England; he had increased the friendliness of France and the United States; he had aimed a heavy blow at England. "This accession of territory," he said, "strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have given England a maritime rival, which will sooner or later humble her pride."

99. The Exploration of Louisiana. — The United States took formal possession of the territory December 20, 1803. But no one really knew just what Louisiana included. Roughly, the name was applied by the French and Spanish to the whole western half of the Mississippi Valley and the country between the Mississippi and the Rio Grande. Very few people had any idea of the worth of the purchase, and Jefferson was accused of contradicting his own interpretation of the Constitution for making it. The settlers at the West, however, were overjoyed. Jefferson's popularity was increased by this and other measures, so that he was reëlected President by a very large majority.

He sent two officers of the army, Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke, with a party, to explore the vast country of Louisiana. They spent nearly three years in the journey. They ascended the Missouri and crossed the Rocky Mountains. They discovered the two rivers now called Lewis River and

Clarke River, followed them to the Columbia, and thus reached the Pacific. It was a wonderful journey, and gave the American people their first knowledge of a great country which lay even beyond their new boundaries.¹

100. Aaron Burr's Schemes. — During Jefferson's first term Aaron Burr was Vice President. He was a restless, scheming man, and was distrusted by the better men of the country.²

1804. While Vice President he had killed Hamilton in a duel. Dueling was not then felt to be a disgrace, as it is now, and Burr continued to hold office; but when his term ended, he left the Atlantic States to seek his fortune in the West. Although Louisiana was now United States soil, the whole country bordering the Mississippi was remote from the older settlements, and offered great temptations to a bold, adventurous leader like Burr.

He gathered a company of daring men, and after two years of preparation began to descend the Mississippi. Exactly what his purpose was, no one seemed to know.

1807. Apparently he intended to seize the Spanish possessions in Mexico, and to establish himself and his followers in power there, as Cortez had done before him. At any rate, his expedition was hostile to Spain, and the United States was at peace with that country. The President suffered him to make all his preparations; but when he was actually on the march, Jefferson issued a proclamation denouncing him. One who was in Burr's confidence is said to have betrayed him. The movement was stopped at Natchez, and Burr was arrested. He was tried for treason, but was not convicted, owing to an error in the form of the legal proceedings.

¹ The report of Lewis and Clarke's expedition issued by government has recently been republished under the editorship of Dr. Elliott Cones. Jefferson's *Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis* is given in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 44.

² Burr appears as a character in Mrs. Stowe's novel, *The Minister's Wooing*, and also in E. L. Bynner's story, *Zachary Phips*.

QUESTIONS.

Who succeeded John Adams in the Presidency? Who was Vice President with him in his first term? What early settlements were made in Ohio? From what directions did settlers come? What was Pinckney's treaty and what did it secure? Narrate the circumstances attending the purchase of Louisiana. To what did the name of Louisiana apply? What measures were taken to become acquainted with the new territory? Who was Aaron Burr, and what was his adventure in the Southwest?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What town in Ohio was early settled by Rufus Putnam and other soldiers? How did Cleveland get its name? What was the origin of the name Cincinnati? What was the "Firelands"? How did the Columbia River get its name? Who was Blennerhassett, and what had he to do with Burr's schemes? What States and territories have been made out of the Louisiana territory?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

- An account of the inauguration of Jefferson.
- The early settlement of Marietta.
- An account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition.

DEBATES:

- Resolved*, that Burr was a traitor.
- Resolved*, That the President should be elected by the direct vote of the people.
- Resolved*, That the coming into power of the National Republican party in Jefferson's election was the best thing for the people.

CHAPTER XI.

THE UNITED STATES ENTANGLED WITH EUROPE.

Algiers (ăl-jēr'z').

Tunis (tū'nīs).

Trip'o-lī.

Dey (dā). The title of the governor
of one of the Barbary States.

Decā'tur.

Derne (dēr'nê).

Block-āde'. The closing of the
ports of a country against vessels
entering or leaving.

Im-press'. To force into service.

Em-bār'go. An order forbidding
ships to leave port.

Tippecanoe (tīp-e-kā-nōō').

101. The War in Europe.—The war which was imminent when the United States acquired Louisiana broke out shortly after with great fury, and caused the people on the Atlantic coast to watch affairs on the other side of the ocean anxiously; for war in Europe meant peril to American ships and sailors. There was, meantime, peril to American commerce from another source. A great trade was carried on in the Mediterranean Sea. The countries which bordered on it produced fruits and other articles not found elsewhere. The eastern ports, also, were depots for goods brought overland from Asia.

102. The Pirates of the Barbary States.—Upon the south shore of the Mediterranean Sea was a group of states called the Barbary States. They were Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli. The people of these countries were chiefly Moors, Turks, and Arabs, and they were Mohammedan in religion. The ports of the Barbary States were infested by pirates, who darted out upon the vessels which sailed up and down the Mediterranean. These pirates were the terror of Europe. They not only plundered vessels and committed many murders, but they were also slave dealers, and sold into slavery

the sailors whom they captured.¹ Some mercantile countries of Europe paid a yearly tribute to the rulers of the Barbary States, that their vessels might be let alone.

War with Tripoli. — England was the only nation these pirates really feared. So long as American vessels were under the English flag, they were reasonably secure. But when the United States became an independent nation, the pirates began to attack her merchant vessels, and to demand tribute. At first the government paid tribute, as the easiest way to protect American commerce. This went on until it was a humiliation not to be endured. The pirates grew more insolent, and in 1801 the Dey of Tripoli declared war upon the United States, because he was dissatisfied with the payments made to him. For four years a series of fights took place between the pirates and the few vessels which could be spared from the little American navy.

Decatur's Exploit. — One of the American naval officers performed a famous exploit. The *Philadelphia*, an American frigate, struck a reef in the harbor of Tripoli, and the commander was obliged to surrender the helpless vessel. A very high tide rose, floated her off, and gave the Tripolitans a fine addition to their navy. Stephen Decatur, a young lieutenant, entered the harbor with a small vessel, and, pretending to have lost his anchor, made fast to the Feb. 15,
1804. *Philadelphia*. He had a number of men concealed in his vessel, and suddenly, at a signal, they all rushed aboard the *Philadelphia*. They set fire to it, returned without the loss of a man to their own vessel, and sailed away to the fleet outside.

End of the War. — The American navy in the Mediterranean was increased in the autumn of 1804. A vigorous attack was made upon the pirates, and a land force aided in capturing Derne, one of the ports of Tripoli. A treaty of peace was made, and prisoners were exchanged. This put an end for a

¹ Readers of *Robinson Crusoe* will remember how, in the early part of that story, Crusoe was thus captured.

while to the piracy. The war with Tripoli had compelled the United States to build more war vessels; it trained
 1805. the American navy, somewhat as the French and Indian War had made officers and soldiers ready for the war of independence, and the country took pride in the exploits of its sailors.

103. The European War in its Effect on American Commerce. — There was immediate need of strength at sea, for the struggle between France and England was growing desperate, and all Europe was drawn into it. In 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of France. He was a general such as Europe had never before seen. He had behind him soldiers who would go wherever he might lead them. All France was flushed with victory and eager for further conquest. The countries were forced to take sides either with England or with France. In 1806 Napoleon fought a series of battles which left England and Russia alone unconquered; he planned to subdue those countries also. England's power was in her commerce and manufactures; Napoleon aimed to destroy these. He issued from Berlin a decree, declaring that England was in a state of blockade. He claimed the right to seize all vessels trading
 Nov. 21, with England or her colonies. England replied with
 1806. an Order in Council, that is, an order made by the king and his ministry, not an act of Parliament; this order forbade all commerce with the ports of Europe which were within the French dominion or in countries allied with France.

104. The Impressment of Seamen. — The effect of these and similar proclamations was felt severely by American merchants. As neutrals, the Americans had secured almost all the carrying trade of Europe, and had a very large business in the West Indies. The decision made in the English courts took away from neutrals all but the most insignificant privileges, and the English navy pounced down on American vessels under the slightest pretext. Not only were merchant vessels captured and sailors impressed under pretense that they were

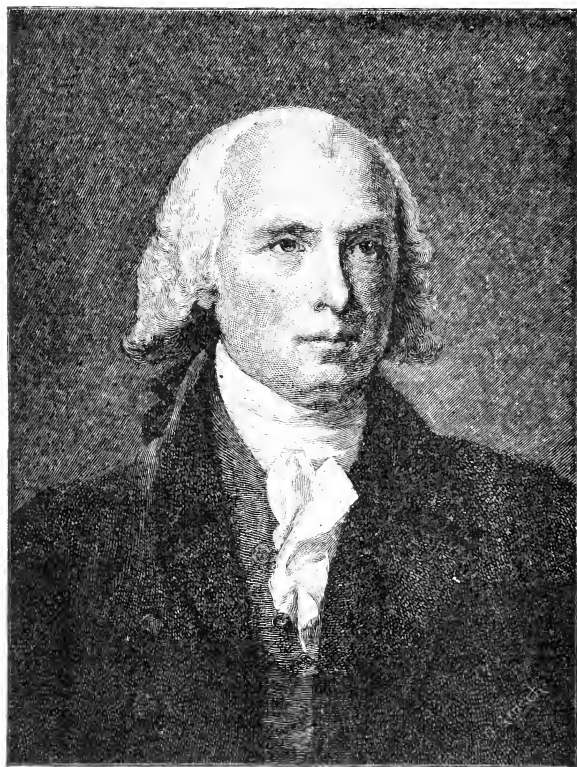
Englishmen, but the British ship *Leopard* overhauled the American frigate *Chesapeake* in American waters and took from her some men who were said to have June 22,
1807. deserted from the British navy.

This affair excited the greatest indignation in the United States. President Jefferson issued a proclamation forbidding British armed vessels to enter American ports. The British government made a half apology for what was really an act of war. The United States could only protest. She had no navy strong enough to enable her to demand satisfaction.

105. The Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts. — It was necessary to pursue some policy in answer to the repression of American commerce, and Jefferson induced Congress to pass an Embargo Bill. By this bill all American vessels were forbidden to leave American ports for Europe. Foreign vessels were forbidden to land cargoes. Dec. 22,
1807. The purpose of the embargo was to cripple European, and especially English, trade; but England did not need our trade nearly so much as we needed hers. The chief effect of the embargo was therefore to impoverish American merchants, and to stop business in the ports from which their vessels sailed.

Next it cut off farmers and planters from sending their produce abroad. It soon appeared that the United States could not get along without Europe. As months went on, the Embargo Act became so unpopular, that before the close of Jefferson's second term many of his friends forsook him. A great pressure was brought to bear, and Congress repealed the act. It passed, in its place, a Non-Intercourse Act, which continued the embargo with England and France, but left commerce free with other European countries.

106. Madison's Administration. — The Non-Intercourse Act went into operation March 4, 1809, when James Madison succeeded to the Presidency. Madison held office for two terms, from 1809 to 1817. He belonged to Jefferson's party, and continued the same policy. Party feeling had grown very bitter. New England, which suffered most from the breaking

James Madison,¹

¹ James Madison was born in Orange County, Virginia, March 16, 1751. He was graduated at Princeton in 1772, and studied a year longer in theology. He went home and taught his younger brothers and sisters, for he was the eldest of twelve children, and meanwhile applied himself to the study of law and history. He was soon to have occasion to make large use of his attainments. He was the youngest member of the Committee of Safety, in Orange County, in 1774; was a delegate to the State Convention, where he took part in making a constitution; was delegate to the Continental Congress in 1780. He was practically the author of the plan by which the government was distributed among the three great powers of legislature, judicial, and executive, and also the system by which the House of Representatives was based on population, the Senate on States. He died at Montpelier, Virginia, June 28, 1836.

up of trade, was the stronghold of the Federalists. These complained loudly that if it were not for the Embargo and Non-Intercourse acts there would be no trouble. The Southern and Western people, who were principally Democratic-Republicans, retorted that they had evidence of negotiations between the New England Federalists and England; that the Federalists were planning for a separation of New England from the Union. This charge was indignantly denied, but it helped to increase political hostility.

107. Indian Hostilities. — On the western frontier was another enemy, the ever-watchful Indian. The Indians were wont to fight in scattered parties, but now and then a great chief arose who had the skill to combine many tribes into one army. Such a chief was Philip in the early days, and Pontiac later. Now appeared another, Tecumseh, who was aided by his brother, the Prophet, a man of great influence among the Indians. William Henry Harrison, afterward President, and at this time governor of Indiana territory, had persuaded some of the tribes to give up their lands in return for presents. Tecumseh and the Prophet declared that these tribes had no right to give up what belonged to all. A sharp contest followed, which ended with the battle of Tippecanoe, when Harrison defeated Tecumseh.

Nov. 7,
1811.

108. The Seizure of Vessels and Men. — All this while, France and England continued at war. Napoleon was studying how he might get the better of England, and he withdrew his decrees prohibiting commerce with England so far as the United States was concerned. Congress at once repealed the Non-Intercourse Act so far as it related to France. England and the United States grew more irritated with each other. The English continued to seize vessels and men. More than nine hundred American vessels had been seized since 1803. Several thousand American seamen had been impressed into the British service. The people of the United States were exasperated at their losses, and at their inability to protect themselves.

109. War declared against Great Britain. — Madison wished to continue the general peace policy of Jefferson, but his party refused to follow his lead. New leaders sprang up, among whom were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. They obeyed the demands of the country, and compelled Congress to raise an army and strengthen the navy. On the 18th of June, 1812, Congress formally declared war against England. It was by no means a unanimous movement. The New England Federalists bitterly opposed it. The chief support came from the South and West, which felt less keenly the effect upon their prosperity caused by the breaking up of commerce, and on the other hand were brought directly in contact with the enemy upon the border.

QUESTIONS.

Why should the United States have been affected by a war in Europe? What were the Barbary States? What effect did the piracy have on commerce? How did Americans first protect themselves? Narrate the exploit of Decatur. What was the end of the war? What was the career of Napoleon? How did France and England retaliate on each other? How did the United States feel the war? What was the affair of the Chesapeake? How did Jefferson seek to strengthen the United States? Explain the Embargo Bill, the Non-Intercourse Act. Who succeeded Jefferson? Narrate the war with the Indians. Describe the further complications with England and France. What new leaders came to the front? What was the attitude of the New England Federalists?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was meant by "once an Englishman always an Englishman"? What was meant by the "carrying trade"? Why did New England oppose the War of 1812?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITION :

An account of the battle of Tippecanoe.

DEBATE :

Resolved, That the Embargo Act was beneficial to the American people.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Guerrière (gê-rî-âr').

To strike colors is to lower the flag
in token of surrender.

Meigs (mëgz).

Cockburn (kō'burn).

Borgne (born).

Pakenham (păk'en-ăm).

Ghent (gënt).

110. Causes of the War.—The chief grounds on which the United States went to war with England were the interference with the neutral trade by the Orders in Council, the impressment of seamen, and the inciting the Indians on the border. This last cause of hostility led to immediate action in the northwest. The nearest part of Great Britain which the United States army could reach was Canada.

111. Movements on the Canada Border.—General Henry Dearborn was commander-in-chief, and General William Hull, governor of Michigan territory, was commander of the forces in the West. As soon as war was declared, General Hull moved a small army across the Detroit River, and demanded the surrender of Fort Malden. The British had moved first. They had surprised Fort Mackinaw, at the head of Lake Huron, and captured it. The Indians saw their opportunity to fight the people who were occupying their lands, and at once joined the British.

Hull, fearing he could not hold his position, recrossed the river and occupied Detroit, which was a fortified place. The British general, Isaac Brock, followed him, and demanded the surrender of Detroit. Hull had no confidence that he could stand out against the larger force which was brought against him, and surrendered. People were furious, and declared Hull to be another Benedict

Aug. 16,
1812.

Arnold. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot; but the President pardoned him.

A fresh attempt was made to invade Canada. The Americans crossed Niagara River, and planned to take Queenstown Heights



(see map, p. 236). They gained some advantage at first, and drove the British before them.

General Brock, who Oct. 13, 1812, was at Fort George, hurried to the field, and was mortally wounded.

The Americans were obliged to retreat, though they made a gallant stand under Lieutenant Colonel Winfield Scott. The expedition was a failure.

112. Naval Operations.—While the Americans were thus defeated on the Canada border, they were winning victories on that battle ground where the greatest grievance had been. The little American navy of twenty ships of war and a few

gunboats had to encounter the English navy of more than a thousand vessels. But every American sailor was fighting for his rights as well as for his country. Within an hour after the declaration of war was known, Commodore John Rodgers, of the President, weighed anchor and was off to catch the nearest British ship. He chased a frigate, which escaped. He crossed the Atlantic, and captured a privateer and seven merchantmen. He retook an American ship which had been captured by the enemy, returned with his prizes to America, and was off again.

Naval Victories. — Other American ships were equally active. The frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, who was a nephew of General Hull, fought the British frigate *Guerrière*, and in half an hour made her strike her colors. He put back to Boston to land his prisoners. Aug. 19,
1812. The whole town turned out to meet him, and people were wild with delight at the bravery of their sailors. Stephen Decatur, who was now commodore, and in command of the frigate *United States*, captured the frigate *Macedonian*; and brought his prize into New York on New Year's day. The *Constitution*, again, now under Commodore Bainbridge, attacked the British ship *Java* off the South Oct. 25,
1812. American coast, and demolished it.

People gave to the *Constitution* the name "Old Ironsides."¹ Besides the little navy, many merchantmen were turned into privateers, and went roving about the seas. Nearly three hundred British vessels, with three thousand prisoners, were brought into United States ports before winter. There were occasional losses, but the advantage was decidedly with the Americans. The British, after the defeat which they had suffered from the American navy in 1812, strengthened their Atlantic squadron. During the summer of 1813 they at-

¹ In 1833, when it was proposed to destroy her as unseaworthy, Holmes wrote the stirring poem, "Old Ironsides," and saved her. She was rebuilt, and did service until she was formally put out of commission, in 1881, and taken to Portsmouth Navy Yard. Congress has again voted to repair her (1897).

tempted to blockade the coast from Maine to Georgia. Congress, in turn, hastened to build new ships; and the courageous privateers continued to fight pluckily, and to bring prizes into United States ports.

113. Harrison's Campaign. — The disasters on land had led the government to collect a larger army, which was placed under command of General Harrison. The British
 Jan. 22, 1813. and Indians, led by General Proctor and Tecumseh, made several attempts against Harrison's forces. They succeeded at Frenchtown, where a portion of Harrison's army was placed; but they failed at Fort Meigs and Fort Stephenson.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. — So much of the frontier was occupied by the Great Lakes that it was of the greatest importance to get control of these. Captain Oliver H. Perry directed the building of a fleet on Lake Erie, and sailors were sent forward from the seacoast. He had just completed nine vessels, which were at anchor in Put-in Bay, when he saw the British approaching. He at once moved out to meet the
 Sept. 10, 1813. enemy, and in a little more than two hours was able to send this despatch to General Harrison: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

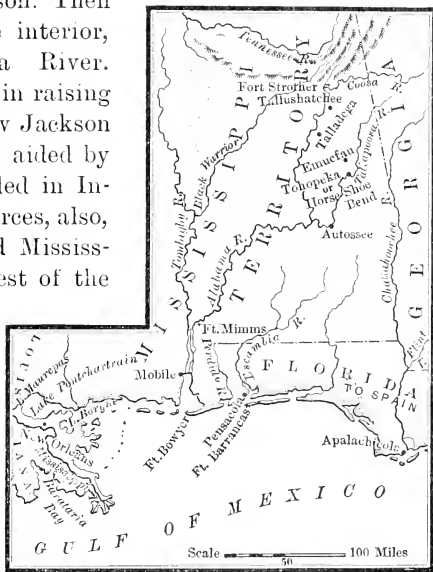
The Battle of the Thames. — Harrison was anxious to recover possession of Michigan, which had been lost when Hull surrendered Detroit. With the aid of Perry's fleet, which transported some of his troops, he moved upon Fort Malden.

Proctor set fire to the fort and retreated with
 Oct. 5, 1813. Tecumseh, meaning to join the other British forces at Niagara. Harrison set out in pursuit, and Proctor halted on the river Thames, near Moravian Town, where a battle was fought. The British were defeated; Proctor escaped, but Tecumseh was killed. The American success restored Michigan to the country, and Harrison became very popular.

114. Operations in the Southwest. — The war gave the Indians an opportunity which they were quick to seize. In the South

the Americans had taken possession of Mobile, which was held by a few Spaniards. It was in territory claimed both by Spain and by the United States. The Spaniards had no power to resist, but they incited the Creek Indians to take up arms against the Americans. The people of the southwestern States raised companies to fight an enemy which was thus at their very doors.

The Creeks were a vigorous tribe, and were partly supplied with arms and ammunition. They surprised Fort Mimms, and destroyed the garrison. Then they marched into the interior, and up the Alabama River. Tennessee was prompt in raising men, and placed Andrew Jackson in command. He was aided by pioneers who were skilled in Indian warfare. Other forces, also, came from Georgia and Mississippi, and during the rest of the year and the beginning of 1814 the Creeks were hard pushed. The whites, who hated the Indians, and were never sorry of an excuse to get rid of them, killed great numbers and showed no quarter.



Map illustrating the Creek War.

115. The Campaigns of 1814. — The Americans made a fresh effort to invade Canada in 1814. They failed in an attempt to retake Fort Mackinaw, but a movement on the Niagara River was more successful. At the battle of Chippewa they put the British to rout, and then determined to move upon Kingston.

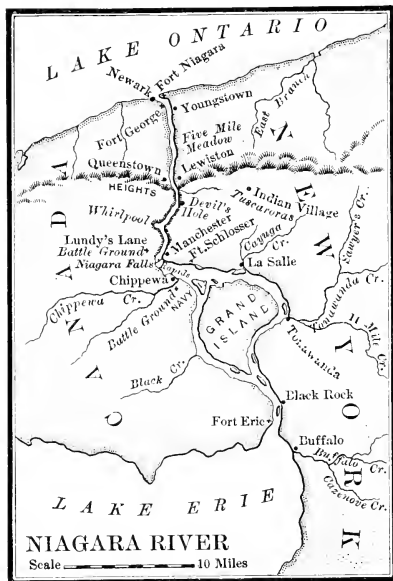
July 5,
1814.

Battle of Lundy's Lane. — To do this, it was necessary to have the coöperation of the fleet; but the fleet was not ready. The British had been reënforced, and were strongly posted at Queenstown. General Scott was sent forward to make observations, and came upon the entire British force drawn up at Lundy's Lane, opposite Niagara Falls. Here the Americans attacked the British, and sent back for reënforcements. A

terrible fight followed, in which both armies suffered severely.

July 25. The British were
1814. repulsed; but the

Americans were too exhausted to follow up their victory, and returned to Chippewa. Their principal officers were wounded, and Scott was unable to return to duty again during the war. The Americans retreated to the defenses of Fort Erie, and the British besieged the place. The siege lasted through the summer, and then the British abandoned it. The Ameri-



cans destroyed the fort and returned to their side of the river. The campaign had cost many lives, and neither party had gained any real advantage.

Burning of Washington. — The British, however, seemed to be gaining. In Europe Napoleon had been defeated, and England was thus enabled to spare more men for the war in America. Her policy was to march two armies into the United States. One army was to descend from Canada, and

the other was to land at New Orleans and march northward. To divert attention, a fleet under Admiral Cockburn sailed up the Potomac and attacked the capital. There was scarcely any resistance, and, to their disgrace, the British destroyed public buildings, books, and papers; nothing was spared except the Patent Office and the jail. Aug. 24,
1814.

British Repulse at Fort McHenry and at Plattsburg. — Another attack was made by a British fleet upon Baltimore. The enemy landed men a few miles below the town, but the Americans gallantly repulsed them. Then the fleet bombarded the forts which protected Baltimore, and tried to land men to attack them in the rear. The forts could not reach the vessels, but they drove back the land forces. Fort McHenry received the hottest fire from the fleet. Sept. 12,
1814.

It was upon seeing the flag still flying from the fort, when the smoke cleared away, that Francis Scott Key wrote the national song, "The Star-spangled Banner." The fleet finally abandoned the attempt, and sailed away. The British undertook to bring their army from Canada to New York by the familiar Lake Champlain route. General Macomb, in command of a small force at Plattsburg, and Lieutenant Macdonough, with a little fleet, completely repulsed the British at the battle of Plattsburg, and compelled them to return to Canada. Sept. 11,
1814.

116. The Operations about New Orleans. — The army and fleet which were to take New Orleans made their rendezvous at Pensacola. Louisiana had been admitted to the Union in 1812, and every one felt the importance of New Orleans.¹ If

¹ The importance of New Orleans was early perceived, as will be seen by Section 24 of the Introduction. The free passage of the river was a matter of the greatest consequence to the Western settlers. See Sections 49, 61, 97-99, above. It was a matter of the utmost importance during the war for the Union; but perhaps no struggle has been so severe as that of science to keep the channel free. The engineering works at the mouth of the Mississippi, built under the direction of Captain J. B. Eads, under contract with the United States government, resulted in keeping clear a channel of two hundred feet in width, and more than twenty feet in depth.

the British should obtain possession of it, they would control the Mississippi and the Western country. Andrew Jackson was in command of the Southwestern forces, and moved rapidly to the coast. The British had been prevented from taking Mobile, and they abandoned Pensacola when Jackson approached. Hurrying to New Orleans, Jackson made vigorous preparations to defend that city. He called upon everybody, white and black, to help build fortifications. He attacked the enemy in their camp at night. His energy inspired the greatest enthusiasm. General Sir Edward Pakenham and General Gibbs were in command of the British forces. They made defenses of hogsheads of sugar, while Jackson used cotton bales for the same purpose. The guns on each side quickly destroyed these temporary barricades, and Jackson made earthworks from the black mud of the river bank.

117. Battle of New Orleans. — After a fortnight's siege, the British determined to storm the American works. Early in the morning of January 8, 1815, they made two attacks. Jackson's men, trained to rifle shooting, and aided by artillery, met them with coolness, and in less than half an hour the battle was over. General Pakenham was killed; General Gibbs was mortally wounded. The British loss was so heavy that the whole expedition was abandoned.

118. The Treaty of Ghent. — The victory was a complete one for the Americans; yet the battle was unnecessary. A fortnight before it was fought, a treaty of peace between the two countries had been signed at Ghent, in Belgium. ^{Dec. 24,} Neither army knew of it, nor did the news at once ^{1814.} reach the scattered vessels of the navy. These continued their operations until one by one they learned that the war was over. So bitter had been the continued opposition to the war in New England, that while the battle of New Orleans was going on, a convention of the New England States was sitting at Hartford, Connecticut, and passing resolutions very like the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798. In those days news traveled slowly, and a delegation was on its

way from Hartford to Washington when the word came that peace had been declared.

119. The independence of the United States was securely fixed by the War of 1812. Although in the treaty of Ghent there was no word about the impressment of seamen, that grievance was not again to arise. The country was not only established in its own domain, but it had equal rights with Europe on the broad seas. It was henceforth to be one of the great powers of the world. The last vestige of subjection to the Old World disappeared when Decatur sailed into the harbor of Algiers in June, 1815. That country had again declared war upon the United States. Decatur compelled the Algerines to meet him on his own ship and give up forever all their demands. The other Barbary States signed similar treaties, and American commerce was free.

QUESTIONS.

What were the causes of the war with Great Britain? Where did operations begin? What was the result of the first encounter? Narrate the affair of Queenstown Heights. What was the size of the American navy at this time? Tell of the exploits of Rodgers; of Isaac Hull; of Decatur. What is the history of the ship *Constitution*? How was the navy reënforced? Narrate the beginning of Harrison's campaign. Tell of Perry's victory. Proceed with Harrison's movements. What went on in the Southwest? Describe the campaign of 1814. What was the British plan of operation? Give an account of the affair out of which the "Star-spangled Banner" arose. What was the battle of Plattsburg? Narrate the incidents which led up to the battle of New Orleans. What was the result of the battle itself? Need it have been fought? What was the Hartford Convention? What was the final sign of the independence of the United States?

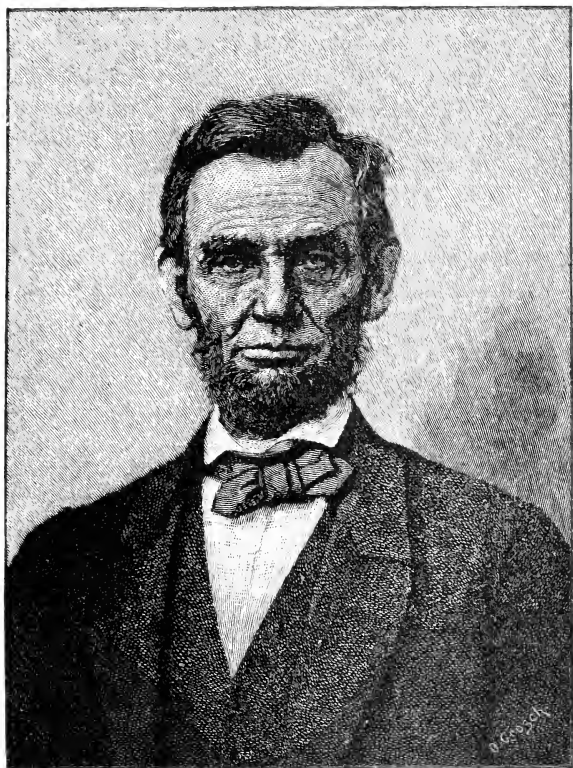
SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What were the terms of the treaty of Ghent? How much of the old Constitution remains in the vessel now to be seen?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That the Hartford Convention was a secession movement.



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Abraham Lincoln.

Born February 12, 1809 ; died April 15, 1865.

BOOK II.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNION AND ITS NEIGHBORS.

Sēm'i nōle.

* Sabine (sā-bēn').

120. The War of 1812, as it is commonly called, came at the end of a long period of warfare which had been carried on upon both sides of the Atlantic. In 1755, England and France began a contest which lasted, with short cessations from fighting, for sixty years. In 1815, the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at Waterloo ended the contest. America was closely connected with the long war, for it broke out on American soil. The first fight of seven years—the French and Indian War—left America in 1763 in the hands of Great Britain. When the English colonies fought for their independence, they drew the French into a fresh fight with England. This last war had grown out of the close connection which the United States had with France and England. The chief result of the war was to make the United States more independent of Europe. The long peace which now followed in Europe, lasting till 1853, helped the United States to grow strong and self-reliant.

121. Monroe's Administrations.—For a while there was an end to party strife. The Federalist party no longer had any strength. The opposition it had shown to the war made it

very unpopular. Yet the Democratic-Republican party had abandoned some of its distinctive principles. It no longer stood for opposition to strong national assertion. When James



James Monroe.

Monroe¹ was elected in 1816 to succeed Madison, there were but thirty-four electoral votes cast for the opposing candidate; when he was reelected four years later, there was but one vote cast against him. Thus the period of his administration came to be known as the Era of Good Feeling.

122. The Great Lakes as a Bond of Peace. — The Union of eighteen States had a great country which it was to occupy. The bound-

aries were not changed by the war. Its most important neighbor was England, with its Canadian possessions on the north.

¹James Monroe was born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758. He was a student at William and Mary College, but the war broke up his studies; he entered the army as lieutenant in 1776 and rose to be lieutenant colonel. He made Jefferson's acquaintance when that brilliant leader was governor of Virginia, and was pushed forward by him into various positions of influence. He took part in the State convention which adopted the Federal Constitution, and was senator from his State from 1790 to 1794. When Washington sent the Federalist Jay to England, he sent the anti-Federalist Monroe to France. On his return he was governor of Virginia for three years. Then Jefferson sent him to France to negotiate the treaty which led to the purchase of Louisiana. He was Secretary of State under Madison and for a while acting Secretary of War. He retired to private life after serving as President for two terms, and died in New York, July 4, 1831.

The chief theater of war had been on and about the Great Lakes separating the two nations, and with a foresight rarely seen in national relations, the two countries entered upon an agreement by which each power was to keep ^{April 28,} only one naval vessel on Lake Ontario, two on the ^{1817.} Upper Lakes, and one on Lake Champlain; and these vessels were not to be larger than one hundred tons' burden, and were to be armed each with only one eighteen-pound cannon. It is not easy to overestimate the value of this provision in keeping the peace between the two countries.

123. Dealings with Spain and the Indian Tribes. — Spain was another neighbor, possessing Florida on the south, and Mexico on the southwest. She also claimed all the western coast of North America, as far north as the British possessions. But England and Spain were not the only foreign neighbors of the United States. Within the boundaries of the country were peoples who made treaties with the United States, just as did foreign nations like England, France, or Spain.

The United States acted toward the Indians who lived within its territory as it acted toward the English or the Spaniards who occupied land lying outside of its territory. That is, the United States did not deal with each separate Englishman who owned a strip of land in Canada, or with each separate Spaniard who owned a bit of Florida; it dealt with the nation of Great Britain, or the nation of Spain. When the United States bought Louisiana, it bought it of France, and not of the different French or Spanish people who owned plantations in Louisiana. Thus, when it came to deal with the Indians, it did not deal with each separate Indian.

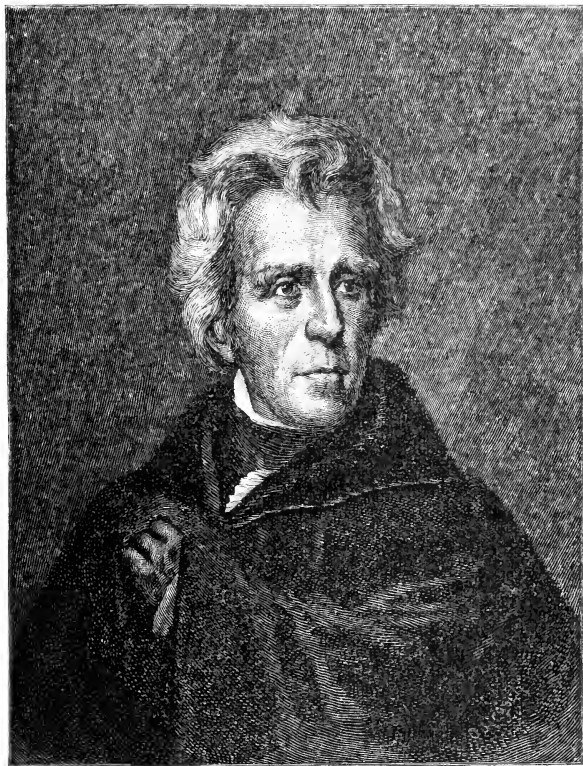
But though there were many Indians in the country, there was no general Indian nation with a government. There were separate Indian tribes, and it was with each of these tribes that the United States had dealings. Each tribe had a tract of country over which it roved. Here were its hunting grounds, and here its few fields which the women planted and harvested from year to year. A bark hut was the most

lasting building. When the game was gone from one place, the Indians moved to another. It was not easy to say what were the exact boundaries of the country occupied by each tribe. The whites, as they cleared away the woods and planted their farms, were quite sure to be taking possession of land which the Indians claimed as their own.

Indian Wars. — The pioneer whites were thus constantly getting into trouble with the Indians. When fighting became general, the United States, or the State in which the trouble occurred, was called upon to defend the whites, and an Indian war followed. The Indians were certain to be defeated, and then the United States would make a treaty with the tribe, buy the land which had been fought about, and compel the Indians to move farther away. Thus, in 1814, as we have seen, when the country was in arms against Great Britain, there was a fight going on with the Creek Indians in Georgia and Alabama. The end of it was that the Creeks were obliged to give up a large portion of their territory and move West. Many of them, however, still remained, and there was bitter feeling between them and the settlers.

124. Jackson in Florida. — The difficulty was greater because the country in dispute lay next to the Spanish possessions in Florida. These possessions had but few Spanish villages or plantations. A tribe of Indians, the Seminoles, was scattered over the peninsula. Many Seminoles had been driven out of the Southern colonies before the War for Independence. Now it was an easy matter for slaves in Georgia and Alabama to run away to the thickets and swamps of Florida. The Creeks and Seminoles were always ready to help them. A border war sprang up, in which the whites were constantly crossing the Florida line to recapture slaves or to fight the Indians.

General Andrew Jackson was placed in command of an expedition in 1817, with instructions to carry on a campaign against the Seminoles. He was permitted to pursue them, if necessary, into Florida, but was not to attack any Spanish fort. Jackson was not a cautious man. He entered Florida, seized

Andrew Jackson.¹

¹ Jackson was born of north of Ireland stock March 15, 1767, in the Waxhaw settlement on the border between North and South Carolina. He had little schooling, but at the age of eighteen began to study law. He was a rollicking, mischievous fellow, delighting in cock fighting, horse racing, and all the rougher sports of a wild community, but he had a native delicacy of nature which made him reverence women and pay them always involuntary homage. In 1788 he was appointed public prosecutor for that part of North Carolina which afterward became Tennessee. He went to what was then the frontier, and showed himself a man of splendid courage both in carrying out the law and in the conflict between the whites and the Indians. He took part in framing the constitution of Tennessee, served as member of Congress, and was made judge of the supreme court of Tennessee. From 1801 he was com-

Indians and white traders, and hung men without a regular trial. He took possession of Spanish forts and built a fort of his own. So popular was he, however, and so eager were his friends to get possession of Florida, that instead of being reproved by Congress he was regarded as a great hero.

125. Spain cedes Florida. — In the meantime the government at Washington was trying to remove all difficulties by persuading Spain to sell Florida. Spain protested against Jackson's conduct; but the kingdom was weak, and in no condition to go to war with the United States. After long bargaining, Spain made a treaty with the United States in 1819, giving up all claims to any territory east of the Mississippi River. West of the Mississippi, the Sabine River was to be the boundary with Mexico. She received in return from the United States five million dollars.

126. Revolt of the Spanish Provinces. — The United States now controlled the entire seaboard from the St. Croix River on the northeast to the Sabine on the southwest; and Congress expended large sums of money in fortifying the coast and inland frontier. It established navy yards and enlarged the navy. One sign of the strength which the Union possessed was in the influence which it had on its neighbors. The provinces of Spain in Mexico, Central America, and South America threw off the dominion of the mother country, and set up republics after the pattern of the United States.

127. The Holy Alliance. — But the occasion soon came for an even more positive statement of the authority of the United States. There existed at this time a compact, called the Holy Alliance, between the great continental powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the main purpose of which was to strengthen the position of the monarchies against the movements which looked toward republican government. The Holy Alliance met

mander-in-chief of the Tennessee militia, and as has been seen took active part in the War of 1812. His later career can be traced in this history. He died at his place called the Hermitage, near Nashville, June 8, 1845. Read the lives by James Parton and by W. G. Sumner.

at Verona in Italy and discussed the question of aiding Spain to reëstablish its authority over the American provinces that had revolted.

Both England and the United States took alarm. It was generally believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that a plan was on foot by which Spain was again to have her American provinces, Mexico was to be given to France, and California to Russia; that this plan was to be carried out by the Holy Alliance, Spain, France, and Russia. Russia had already, by an edict of the Czar, asserted a claim over all the Pacific coast of North America from Bering Strait to the fifty-first parallel of latitude.

The first important notice taken by the United States was when the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams (July 17, 1823), declared to the Russian minister at Washington that "we should contest the right of Russia to any territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subject for any new European colonial establishments."

128. The Monroe Doctrine.—The second notice was even more significant. Great Britain had no wish to see the continental powers securing authority in America, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs proposed to the United States minister in London that the two governments should unite in a joint declaration against the proposal of the Holy Alliance. Mr. Rush, the United States minister, had no instructions from his government, but he said he would agree to such a declaration if Great Britain would acknowledge the independence of the Spanish American provinces as the United States had already done.

This the British government was not prepared to do. So there was no joint declaration; but the two nations made separate declarations. President Monroe declared in a message to Congress that the United States would preserve a strict neutrality in the war between Spain and her provinces, but that when any province became independent, the United

1823.

States would regard an attack upon it by a European power as an attack upon herself. This declaration has received the name of the Monroe Doctrine.¹ It was meant to assert that the United States had so great an interest in the prosperity of the whole American continent, that it never would permit Europe to recover any foothold in America which it once had lost, or to wrest any territory from states there established.

¹ *President Monroe's Message of 1823* is No. 56 of *Old South Leaflets*.

QUESTIONS.

How was the period of warfare between 1755 and 1815 divided? What was the length of peace in Europe after 1815? How were the political parties in Monroe's administration divided? Name the agreement between the United States and Great Britain regarding the policing of the Great Lakes, and state the effect upon the prosperity of the two countries bordering on the lakes. What possession did Spain have on the North American continent at this time? What was the policy of the United States in the treatment of Indians? What was the result of the Creek War? Narrate Jackson's movements in Florida. What did Spain give up in selling Florida? When did the Spanish provinces in America become independent? What was the Holy Alliance? What is the Monroe Doctrine?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What became of the Creek Indians? On what occasions has the Monroe Doctrine been officially asserted by the United States? How does the American tonnage on the Great Lakes compare with the American tonnage on the ocean?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

An account of the Seminole Indians.

The boyhood of General Jackson.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That there would be less danger of war if nations had armies and navies no larger than are required for police service.

Resolved, That the Creek Indians were justified in fighting the Americans in 1814.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.

Tār'iff. A list of duties laid by government on goods imported into the country. A protective tariff is one which is laid for the purpose of protecting the industries of the country from foreign competition, and of encouraging the home production of similar goods.

Appalachian (ăp'pā-lā'chī-an). The name applied to the mountain range of which the Alleghany Mountains are the principal members.

Anthracite (ăn'thrā-sīt). Hard coal, such as is used in stoves.

129. New Inventions. — At the close of the War of 1812, the people of the United States lived mainly by farming and trade ; the articles not made on the farm or in the house were bought in the stores, and the merchants obtained them from Europe. But life in a new country like the United States was different from what it was in Europe. The farmers, the lumbermen, the mechanics, often found in their work that the English manufacturers did not understand just what was needed. Americans therefore were constantly contriving new machines and tools to do the work required.¹ Besides this, there were fewer men to do any piece of work than in England. Whenever in the United States a machine could be contrived to do the work of twenty men, it was eagerly adopted because the twenty men were not to be had. There was not a multitude of laborers seeking employment, as in England.

The Patent Office. — This was especially the case in farming. The broad fields of the West were very fruitful ; but the farmer who owned a great tract could not find men enough to help him

¹ The first step was to increase greatly the use of horse power.

cultivate the fields after the old fashion. He set his wits to work to invent machines which should do the work of men, should prepare the ground, sow the seed, and reap the crop. Since 1790, the government has granted patents to inventors. There were not many granted before the War of 1812, but after that the number increased rapidly. In 1836, the Patent Office was made a distinct bureau under the Secretary of State, and a Commissioner of Patents was appointed to be at its head.

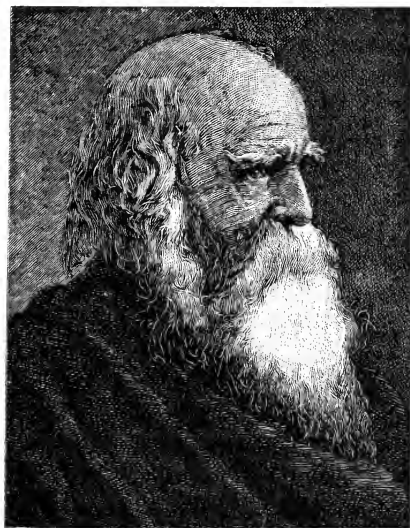
130. The Rise of Manufactures.—The great European conflict had been the opportunity of American shipping, and even during the War of 1812 there had been great activity in commerce. But when Europe was at peace, the carrying trade returned to the ships of Europe, and there was a great falling off in American shipping. Partly in consequence of this the energy and money which had gone into commerce, especially in New England, began to be turned into the channel of manufacture. There were other causes at work.

The War of 1812 shut the country off largely from European goods, and thus indirectly stimulated home manufacture. Then, not only did the war cost the government heavily, but the income from taxes upon imported goods fell off as commerce declined. When peace came, and goods began to come in again with a rush, Congress increased the duties on these goods, enacting what is called a Protective Tariff. It did this for two reasons,—to secure greater revenues for the government, and to encourage the manufacture of a similar class of goods in this country.

131. The Protective Tariff.—There was nothing new in the principle of the protective tariff. Hamilton had urged it at the beginning of the government, and it was the method used by all countries for the protection of their own industries. But the tariff of 1816 in the United States came at a time when it had a marked effect in the history of the people. If the United States could manufacture its own goods from its own products, and sell them to its own citizens, then one part of the country would help another, and the whole Union would

prosper together. Thus the tariff fell into its place as one of the plans adopted by the country when it settled down to the work of possessing the land and improving it.

132. Manufacturing Towns.—The few manufactories which had been started during the period when America was breaking away from Europe now began to thrive, and new ones were established. This was especially true in New England, where the rivers which came down from the hill country afforded good water power. The rise of manufacturing towns on the banks of these rivers changed the old New England life.¹ It brought people together from different places; there was more travel. The young read more and talked more with one another; they had societies and saw one another more frequently; they had magazines and papers for which they wrote. The American literature we now know so well had already been begun,



William Cullen Bryant.

Born Nov. 3, 1794; died June 12, 1878.

for Bryant was writing his early poems. It does not at all follow that people stopped buying English and French goods; but every year there was more business in making, buying, and selling American goods. As people grew richer, they continued to get from England and France the better class of

¹ The time of the book is later than this, but *A New England Girlhood*, by Lucy Larcom, contains a most interesting and striking picture of life in Lowell, when the country girls were flocking to the manufacturing towns.

goods, while American manufacturers were constantly endeavoring to make their own products better, and thus to get the trade of their countrymen.

133. The United States Bank and Internal Improvements. — In order to aid the business men in their dealings with one another, Congress gave a new charter for twenty years to the

United States Bank. This act shows how the old
1816. party lines of Federalist and Anti-Federalist had disappeared, but there was a more significant mark of the disappearance of old divisions. Congress proposed that public money should be expended on internal improvements, in building roads, improving navigation, and deepening harbors. This was in direct opposition to the early doctrine of the National Republican party, but Jefferson had made the new policy popular by using the public money for buying a vast tract of land when he accepted the Louisiana Purchase. During Monroe's administration more than a million dollars—a large sum in those days—was spent by government in building a national road from Cumberland, in Maryland, to Wheeling, on the Ohio.

134. The Erie Canal. — The people did not wait for the general government, and indeed there were many who thought government should not spend the public money in this way. Sometimes private companies and sometimes the State built roads and canals, on which tolls were paid by those who used them. The greatest of these public works is the Erie Canal, which owes its execution chiefly to the energetic governor of New York, De Witt Clinton. It was begun in 1817, and opened for traffic in 1825.¹ It extends across the State from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, and is longer than any other canal in America or Europe. For many years the Erie Canal was the chief means by which the produce of the country bordering on the Great Lakes, and of the rich farms in the

¹ This was before the days of telegraphing, and the news of completion was communicated from Buffalo to New York in eighty minutes by a succession of cannon discharges.

Mohawk Valley, was carried to the sea. It was one of the great means by which the city of New York became the chief commercial city of the New World.¹

135. Steamboats and Railroads. — In 1807 an American inventor, Robert Fulton, had constructed the first really successful steamboat. Its first trip up the Hudson River awakened great interest and showed clearly the possibility of steam navigation. This was before the locomotive had been perfected, so that steam railroads were not yet in operation. Steamboats, however, were already beginning to ply on rivers and lakes. Just after the Erie

Canal was begun, a steamboat was built which was the first to navigate Lake Erie. The next year a still more important step was taken. The steamer Savannah crossed the Atlantic, went as far as St. Petersburg, and re-



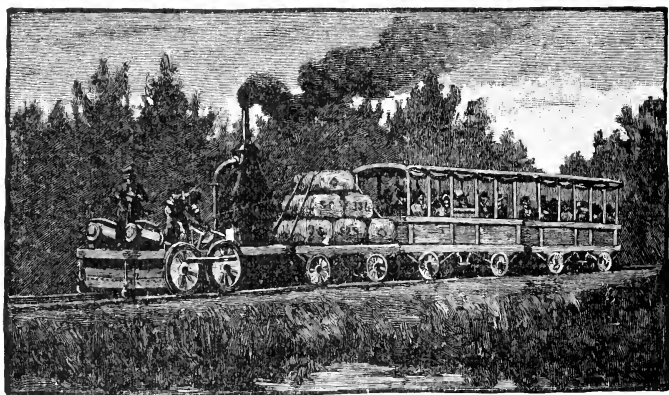
Robert Fulton. Born 1765; died 1815.

turned. Six years later, when the Erie Canal was finished, the steamer Enterprise went from America to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Thus the beginning of steam navigation for America had been made.

The First Railroad. — A year after the Enterprise sailed for India, the first railroad in the United States was opened in Massachusetts, from the Quincy quarries to tide water. It was

¹ In 1882 the people of New York by a large majority voted to abolish all tolls on canals in the State.

only two miles long, and was used for hauling granite; the cars were drawn by horses. It was the first use of rails in America. In 1830 the first passenger railway in America was opened. It extended westward from Baltimore about fifteen miles, and now forms a part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The cars were at first drawn by horses, but a locomotive was used the next year. Its first locomotive was built by Peter Cooper, who made later the generous and useful gift of the Cooper Union¹ to the city of New York. Now began the construction of rail-



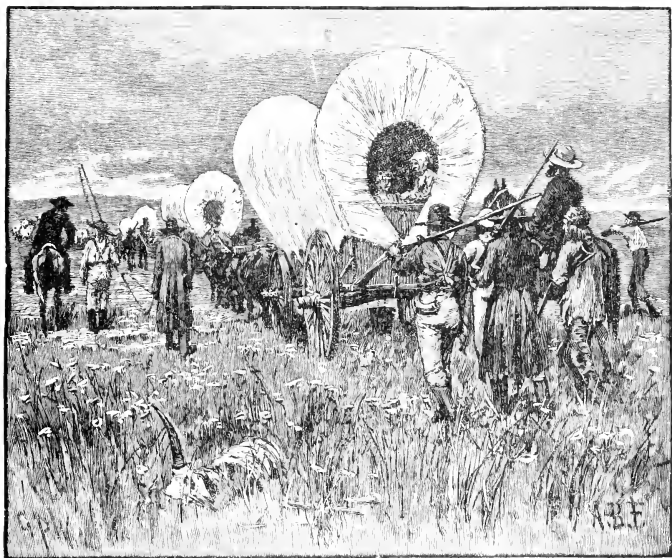
The First Passenger Locomotive built in the United States.

roads in various directions; in the next twenty years nearly ten thousand miles of road were built. This mileage has constantly been increased, until in 1900 there were in operation in the United States nearly one hundred and ninety thousand miles of railway.

136. The great coal and iron regions lying in the Appalachian range began to yield their riches. Charcoal was formerly used in smelting iron, but in 1820 the Pennsylvania iron workers began to make experiments in mixing anthracite

¹ A well-equipped building, the center of activity in educational work, with reading rooms, library, and a hall for great public meetings.

coal with charcoal. When it was at last found that anthracite coal could be used alone, the manufacture of iron increased with great rapidity. The coal was close by the iron ore; and both coal and iron were so near the Atlantic seaboard that it cost little to get the product of mines to ports and then to ship it to points up and down the coast. 1838.



A Western Emigrant Train.

137. The Occupation of the West. — With every year the line of settlements was pushed farther westward. Along the great highways, and by trails across the prairies, one might see long emigrant trains. Covered wagons contained the family goods and carried the women and children; the men marched behind or rode on horseback; they drove the sheep and cattle which they were taking to the new homes. These emigrants often formed large parties for better protection against Indians and wild beasts. They camped at night by streams of water when

they could. They built their camp fires and kept guard all night, for they could hear the howling of wolves and sometimes see Indians stealing toward them. As they moved on, they would meet men and wagons coming from the opposite direction. Already the great West was sending back produce and droves of cattle and pigs to the Eastern markets.

New States. — The rapid growth of the Union may be seen from the fact that for six years after the close of the War of 1812 a new State was added each year. Indiana was added in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, and Missouri in 1821. When Indiana was admitted to the Union, the question which most deeply concerned the people of the territory was that of slavery.¹ The decision made Indiana a free State, but from this time forward the slavery question was a great national question, and it becomes necessary to stop a moment and consider what slavery in the United States meant.

¹ The story of the struggle in Indiana is well told in the volume of that name in *American Commonwealths* series by J. P. Dunn, Jr. Mr. Dunn also recounts the early history of the State. The territory occupied was first visited by La Salle in 1679, and posts were established by the French near Lafayette and at Vincennes. Colonel Clark carried on some of his operations there, and the country was included in the Virginia and other acts of cession to the United States after the war for independence. It formed a part of the Northwest Territory which was created in 1787. In 1800 Indiana territory was formed, consisting of the present States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and part of Michigan, with Vincennes as the seat of government. Illinois territory was set off from it in 1809. It was the scene of many fights with the Indians in its early history.

QUESTIONS.

What made the conditions of labor in the United States to differ from those in Europe? What stimulated invention? When was the patent office created? What led to the investment of capital in manufactures? What is a protective tariff? What was the effect of the tariff of 1816? How did the rise of manufactures affect town life? When was the United States Bank originally established, and when was its charter extended? What was the policy of the government respecting internal improvements? How did the political parties stand on this matter? What

was the course of State action? What is said of the Erie Canal? When did Fulton make his experiments? What was the early history of steam navigation in America? Narrate the incidents connected with the beginning of railroads in America. Where were coal and iron first mined? Describe the movement westward. Name in order the States added after the War of 1812.

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What is the process by which a patent is secured? What is the meaning of the term "A tariff for revenue, with incidental protection"? What is meant by free trade? What are the conditions necessary for the admission of a State into the Union? How is the President elected if there is no election by the electoral college?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

- A description of Fulton's steamboat and its first journey.
- A description of a Western emigrant train.
- Life on a canal boat.
- Story of a tow boy.
- An account of Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824.
- How a patent is secured on an invention.

DEBATES:

- Resolved*, That the United States should maintain a protective tariff.
- Resolved*, That public improvements should be made by private enterprise.
- Resolved*, That a machine which does the work of twenty men keeps twenty men out of work.
- Resolved*, That patents should not be granted to inventors.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.

Compromise (kǒm'prō-mīz). An agreement between two parties in a dispute by which each gives up a part of what he demands.

138. The North and the South. — The country occupied by the United States stretched from a region in the North, where there were long, cold winters and short summers, to a land in the South, where winter meant only a few weeks of rest between the gathering of one crop and the planting of the next. In the North were grass land, and wheat and corn fields; in the South, tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar plantations. The people who lived at the two extremes had come originally from the same English stock. But their ways of living ever since they had occupied the country were so different that now the people of the Southern States seemed to many travelers almost another people from those occupying the Northern States. This difference was owing chiefly to the fact that in the South the great body of laborers was composed of African slaves, owned and directed in their work by white men. Except in some of the mountain regions, the white man and the black rarely worked together. Everywhere it was the black man or woman who did the work of the hand.

139. The Growth of the System of Slavery. — In the early years of the Republic many of the wisest men in the South were eager to get rid of slavery. All but three of the thirteen States which had made the Confederation forbade the importation of slaves. These three were North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and these insisted, when the Constitution was framed, that the right to import slaves should continue

till 1808. But though it became illegal to import slaves from Africa or other countries, it was permitted to sell them from one State to another.

All children born of slave mothers became slaves, and the property of the master of the mother. The more slaves a man had, the richer he was thought to be; and the number of slaves in the country increased rapidly, especially after the invention of the cotton gin. Thus there came gradually a change in the opinion of the people of the South. A few had freed their slaves, and a few slaves had bought their freedom by working for others in the extra time which their masters gave them. But while Jefferson and many others had deplored the system of slavery, most of the people now accepted it as right and desirable.

They were used to it. It freed them from the necessity of working with their hands. It gave them leisure to come and go among their friends. It gave them a sense of power; they were rulers over men; they gave orders and were obeyed. They thought also that they were growing rich as they saw their gangs of slaves tilling the fields without wages. The masters cared for their slaves.¹ They gave them clothing, and houses, and gardens in which to raise vegetables. They amused themselves with the little children, who grew up in play with their own families. They took care of them when they were sick and old.

They encouraged the slaves also in going to church and religious meetings, and frequently gave them religious instruction. But they carefully kept books and papers out of the hands of the blacks. They did not think it wise to give them schools. They treated them, so far as education went, like little children who were never to grow up. Why, they asked, should the negro learn to read and write and keep accounts?

¹ A very interesting inside view of the relations subsisting between slaves and their masters will be found in Mrs. Smede's *Memorials of a Southern Planter*, though the time covered by it is later for the most part than that of which we are now treating.

He was not to be in business for himself; he could not vote; he could not testify in courts of law; he was not a citizen of the State. To be most useful to his master, he must be contented. If he began to care for what his master and other freemen had, he might himself try to break away from slavery.

For the most part, the slaves were an idle, easy-going people. They were affectionate and warmly attached to their masters and mistresses if these were kind to them. They had little thought of anything beyond eating and sleeping and playing. They had their holidays, and when Christmas came, they flocked to the great house to receive their presents.

140. The Economical Aspect of Slavery. — It was a mistake to think that the South was really prospering by means of slavery. A few planters were rich; they had large estates and a great body of servants, but as a whole the country was not growing richer; everywhere there was waste. Instead of intelligent men working hard with their hands and their heads, improving the land, and getting larger crops to the acre, there was a race of ignorant laborers who worked as little as they could. They had nothing to gain by industry and economy. They laid by nothing, for they expected to be taken care of by their masters.

The South did not see that it was becoming relatively poorer.¹ It saw that it had more slaves every year, and must find a place for them. It perceived, also, that the North was increasing more rapidly in population; the Northwest was filling up faster than the Southwest. It was to meet the original disproportion in free population that the Constitution provided (see Article 1, Section 2), that in apportioning the representatives the slaves should be counted as three fifths of the actual number.² The non-slaveholding States were growing actually and relatively more powerful every year.

¹ Among the most instructive narratives respecting the agricultural and social conditions of the South are the several volumes of travel by Frederick Law Olmsted. His journeys, indeed, were made at a later period, but they record conditions which had long been fixed.

² It was James Madison who proposed this mode. He was a strong advocate of the principle that representation under the new government should be

141. The Relations between the South and the North as regards Slavery. — The increasing prosperity of the free States was a constant menace to the slave States, for it seemed to say that States where labor is free have an immense advantage over States where labor is enslaved. The South began to fear that, as time went on, the free States might control the Union, and then might even undertake to get rid of slavery. The States in which slavery existed were held together by this fact; it gave them an interest in common which the other States had not. All were States of the Union, but the Southern States were also slave States. They were ready to act together whenever the system which was so important to them seemed to be in danger.

There always was danger. Although there was often a strong attachment between the slaves and their masters, the laws of the slave States showed how little the masters trusted their slaves. These laws were very stringent; the life as well as the liberty of the slave was in the power of the master. Many slaves ran away into the swamps of Florida, Virginia, and Alabama; or they escaped to the free States, where they hid in cities or found friends among those who disliked slavery. When they were ill-treated, they would sometimes revenge themselves on their masters. More than once they attempted insurrection.¹

The greatest danger to slavery was in the growing belief that slavery is wrong, and that the nation ought not to permit men and women to be owned by others, to be bought and sold, and to have no other rights than those which belong to horses and oxen. But slavery existed under the Constitution,

based on population and not on States. There were two theories about the slaves, one that they were to be counted as persons, the other that they should be reckoned as property. The compromise proposed by Madison was intended to reconcile these theories in practice. It is not too much to say that without some such compromise the Constitution could not have been adopted.

¹ The most noted of these insurrections was that of Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831. Mrs. Stowe based on it her novel, *Dred: A Tale of the Dismal Swamp*.

and the States where it did not exist were not at first disposed to interfere. They said that slavery was an affair of the States in which it was found. For the most part, they were too busy with their growing industries to care about a matter which they said did not belong to them.

Besides, the Northern States were now engaged in a great variety of enterprises, while the Southern States were still chiefly employed in the few agricultural industries of tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar. The South thus looked to the North for clothing, tools, much of the food, and most of the luxuries of life. The merchants of the North found a great market in the South for the sale of their goods; they did not want anything to disturb it, for they needed cotton from the South to keep their mills running.

Families from the different sections intermarried. Visitors passed from South to North and from North to South. The churches had their members and associations in both parts of the country. So most people agreed to let slavery alone; and many at the North persuaded themselves, and tried to persuade others, that it was not so bad a thing after all.

142. The Missouri Compromise. — When the Territories of the West applied for admission to the Union as States, those which were north of the Ohio River came in as free States. Not only were they settled largely by emigrants from the older free States, but the Ordinance of 1787 forever excluded slavery from the Northwest Territory; although, as we have seen, slave holders did get a footing there, in Indiana especially.¹

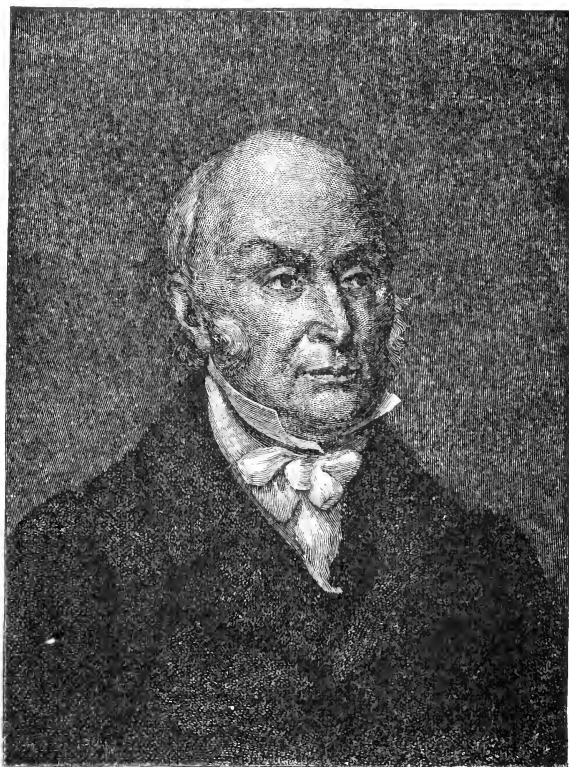
¹ It was not Indiana alone that was subject to dispute over the question of slavery. The contest was keen in Illinois. That State, which took its name from the French rendering of the name used by the tribe of Indians found there, was very early visited by the French. (See above, Introduction, 23). By the Treaty of Paris in 1763 the country of the Illinois was ceded by France to England. Virginia and Connecticut claimed the country under their patents, but yielded it with other lands to the United States, and it became a part of the Northwest Territory. When, in 1800, Ohio was set off, and the rest of the territory was created Indiana territory, Illinois was included, but in 1809 it was constituted a distinct territory. The State was rapidly populated, much impulse being given by the important lead mines near Galena. In the eager-

But when the Mississippi was crossed, and settlements began to be made in the great territory originally called Louisiana, the question arose whether the States made from it were to be slave or free.

The first discussion was over the admission of the territory of Missouri as a State.¹ It belonged to Congress to decide this question. Members from the free States said that Missouri should not come in except under laws which forbade slavery. They were opposed by the members from the slave States, and the debate occupied two sessions of Congress. At last an agreement was reached, called the Missouri Compromise. By this, slavery was to be permitted in Missouri, but was prohibited forever in all other territory west of the Mississippi north of 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri. This result was largely brought about by Henry Clay, who was speaker of the House. One of the effects of the controversy had been to delay the admission of Maine,

ness of new enterprises the State ran up a heavy debt, and in 1842 the governor, in a message to the Legislature, declared that the State had not credit or money to buy a pound of candles. It was a time of great depression, but five years later the people showed their honesty, their courage, and their resolution by subjecting themselves to a heavy tax. The marvellous growth of its chief city Chicago is seen in the contrast exhibited by its twelve families clustered about Fort Dearborn in 1831 and the great exhibition of 1893. The State was the home of both Lincoln and Grant.

¹ The Missouri River, which gives its name to the State, is the Great Muddy River. It brings down so much mud from the Rocky Mountains, that after its junction with the clearer Mississippi the common stream becomes of a coffee color. In 1673 Marquette and Joliet passed down the river bordering the country now occupied by the State. The country was at different times under French and Spanish authority. It was a part of the Louisiana purchase, and at first called the district of Louisiana, and then the territory of Louisiana. In 1812 the name was changed to the territory of Missouri. When St. Louis came into the possession of the United States, in 1804, there were only two American inhabitants of the place, and less than a thousand persons in all, chiefly French and Spanish. In 1890 the population was over 450,000. St. Louis was long the great center for trade with the Indians in the West, and traders and Indians flocked there from regions as remote as Oregon. Eads's great tubular steel bridge across the Mississippi, seven years building, was completed in 1874. For a history of Missouri see a volume by Lucien Carr in the *American Commonwealths* series.



John Quincy Adams. Born July 11, 1767; died Feb. 23, 1848.

which wished to be set off from Massachusetts.¹ The Southern members had refused to admit Maine until it should be agreed

¹ The name of Maine was early used for the mainland of that portion of New England. As early as 1607 an English settlement was made at the mouth of the Kennebec River. In the Introduction, 42, some account of the early occupation will be found. There was a dispute about the proper authority over the country, and in 1677 Massachusetts, to perfect her title, bought the right and claims to the territory from the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1783 the treaty of peace recognized Maine as a part of Massachusetts, and until it became a State it was known as the district of Maine. For a long

to admit Missouri as a slave State. The great debate showed clearly that the South was very much in earnest, and that it was united in defense of slavery.

143. Administration of John Quincy Adams.—The debate over the admission of Missouri came in the administration of James Monroe. He was succeeded by John Quincy Adams, who had grown up in the service of government. When John Adams was sent as commissioner to France in 1778, he took his son, John Quincy Adams, with him, and even sent him as secretary of an embassy to Russia when he was but fifteen years old. He was appointed minister successively to the Netherlands, to Portugal, and to Russia. He was a United States senator, and in 1814 he was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of Ghent. Shortly after he was made minister to Great Britain, and when Monroe became President he appointed John Quincy Adams Secretary of State. The election of 1824 was not decided by popular vote, and when Adams was chosen by the House of Representatives, he went into office under bitter opposition, and the measures which he proposed were generally defeated. A striking event occurred during his administration, when, on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence, John Adams and Jefferson died within a few hours of each other.

144. State Sovereignty.—The people of the slave States were strong supporters of the doctrine that the States were independent of one another and of the Federal government; that each was a sovereign State. The doctrine had been held from the beginning of the Union. It was felt that the power of the State was a protection against too great a power in the central government. This doctrine was used with special force by the people of the South, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. It was a safeguard for slavery, and was held so passionately that the State was put before

time the exact line of separation from Canada was a subject of dispute, and in 1837-1839 there was a good deal of local disturbance known as the Aroostook War. The difficulty was adjusted by treaty in 1842.



John Caldwell Calhoun.¹

¹ John Caldwell Calhoun, who had so powerful an influence in formulating Southern political doctrines, was born March 18, 1782, in Abbeville district, S.C. He was of the same sturdy race as Jackson, but unlike Jackson he was a man of scholarly habits and cultivated tastes. He was graduated at Yale in 1806, and entered the House of Representatives in 1811. A man of great simplicity of manner, he was also very strict in character, and possessed of a remarkably logical and analytical mind. He had a genius for organization, and as Secretary of War under Monroe he left a strong impress on the department, which remains much as he organized it. He was elected Vice-President in 1824, but resigned to become senator from his State in 1832, when he led the forces of State sovereignty. He died in Washington, March 31, 1850. Dr. Von Holst has traced his career in one of the volumes of *American Statesmen*.

the Union. "I am a Georgian," one would say, or "I am a South Carolinian," before he would say "I am an American."

The Union and a State came into sharp opposition in the case of the half-civilized Indians still remaining in Georgia. The State wished to get rid of them and take possession of their lands. But they held these lands under treaty with the United States, and appealed to the general government. John Quincy Adams was President, and attempted to maintain the rights of the Indians. The governor of Georgia called out the State troops to resist the United States troops; Congress, with whom Adams was very unpopular, took sides with Georgia. The State prevailed, and the doctrine of State Sovereignty was more firmly held than ever.

QUESTIONS.

What was the difference in life between the North and South? To what was the difference mainly due? How did the founders of the Union regard slavery? What action was early taken regarding the trade in slaves? Describe the general condition of slaves and their masters. What was the effect of slavery on wealth? How were slaves counted in the representation? How did slavery affect the slave States in their relation to each other? How did the North look upon slavery? What part did slavery play in the admission of new States? Explain the Missouri Compromise. Narrate the career of John Quincy Adams. What effect did the doctrine of State sovereignty have in the South? How did it operate in the case of the Georgia Indians?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What were some of Jefferson's expressions about slavery? What special legislation indicated the attitude taken by the founders of the Union toward slavery? When did Lafayette revisit this country?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

The adventures of a slave escaping to the Dismal Swamp.

A possum hunt.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That the compromise by which the slaves were counted on the three-fifths ratio was a sound piece of politics.

CHAPTER XVI.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

Null. Of no force in law. Void. Empty. *Null and void* is a legal term.

145. The election of Andrew Jackson to the Presidency in 1829 was the sign of a change which had come over the American people. They had come to believe in themselves and to hold fast by the doctrine, that the will of the majority is law. Not only in politics, but in church life and in business, this principle was firmly established and put in practice. Furthermore, the cheapness of land and the ease with which one could change his home and his occupation, if he was not satisfied, led to constant movement and activity. There was nothing to prevent one with industry and energy from making his way and bettering his condition. Even money was not greatly needed, since those who had it lent it to those who had it not, in confidence that the borrower would quickly make it earn good interest. All this not only gave courage and self-reliance, so that the common phrase was "Every man is as good as his neighbor," but it gave the whole people a hearty belief in the Union.

Causes of Jackson's Popularity. — In Europe one class of men was looked up to as having a right to govern. It was only gradually that this idea faded out in America, where every freeman had a vote. It faded out most quickly in the newer parts of the country, where, from necessity, all were very much on the same footing. Heretofore the Presidents had been taken from a class of men who had been trained in the study of government, both at home and abroad. Now came Andrew Jackson, who had grown up on the frontier. He had

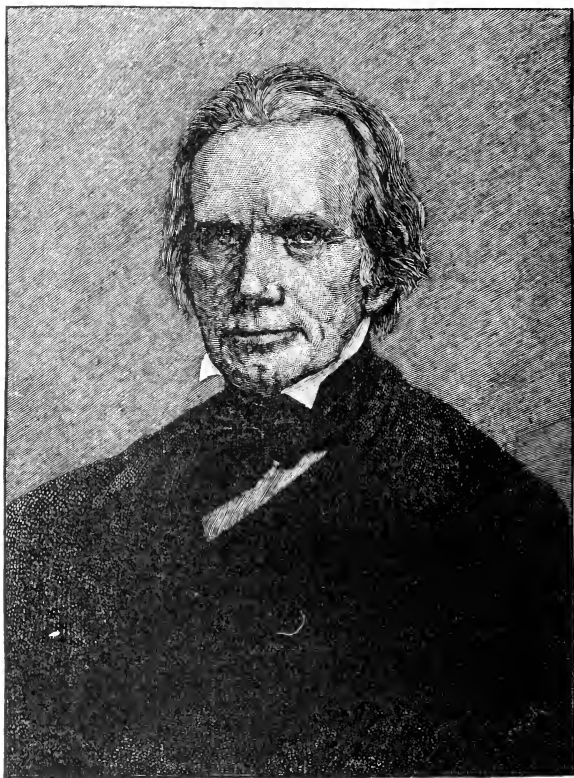
been known chiefly as a brave man who had defeated the British at New Orleans and had carried on successful campaigns against the Indians. He was a man of strong will, who loved his friends and hated his enemies. He was greatly admired by the people, because, unlike most public men, he seemed not to belong to a separate class, but to be one of themselves.

146. The Two Great Parties.—The party which followed Jackson's lead was called the Democratic party. The name was intended to declare that it was the party of the people. It maintained that the people should everywhere manage their own affairs, and that the general government should interfere as little as possible. Opposed to it, under the leadership of Henry Clay,¹ was the National-Republican party, later called the Whig party,² which maintained that the general government should have more to do with managing the affairs of the

¹ Clay's name has already appeared. He was born in Hanover County, Va., April 12, 1777. He lost his father early, and was thrown on his own resources. He began his self-support in a Richmond store, but he was too intellectual in his tastes to remain in this position, and he began the study of law in 1796; the next year he moved to Lexington, Ky., where his captivating manner and his brilliant parts at once made him a favorite and gave him prominence. He threw himself into politics, and advocated a constitutional provision for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. He was twice United States senator, but in 1811 he went to the House of Representatives, and was at once chosen speaker. It was largely his leadership that forced the reluctant Madison administration into declaring war with Great Britain, and Clay gave vigorous support to the administration throughout. He was one of the commissioners at Ghent. He was more than once a candidate for the Presidency. He was one of the greatest of American orators, a splendid party chief, and an ardent lover of his country. He is identified with the great compromises, but he advocated them because he was a passionate lover of the Union, and would preserve it at any cost short of dishonor. A famous saying of his was, "I would rather be right than President." He died in Washington, June 29, 1852. See a very interesting life by Carl Schurz in *American Statesmen* series.

² Before the war of independence, the title of Whigs was loosely applied to those who opposed parliamentary and royal authority, in opposition to the Tories, who were supporters of the crown and Parliament. The names were drawn from English political history. The term "Tories" had disappeared from American politics, for it had been rendered especially obnoxious by its association with the opponents of the Revolution. The term "Whigs" was now revived by those who saw in Clay and his party the supporters of congressional authority against a too powerful executive.

whole country. It was in favor of a protective tariff, and of internal improvements at national expense;¹ it was in favor



Henry Clay.

¹ The question whether the general government or State governments should carry on internal improvements had largely been confined heretofore to the matter of canals and great highways. The attention from this time given to the construction of railroads, which superseded canals and highways, and were private enterprises carried on under State laws, made the old debate steadily of less importance, and when, after the war for the Union, internal improvements were carried on upon a vast scale, the question had ceased to be one of constitutional opinion, dividing parties.

also of a United States Bank, with branches, to be chartered by the government, instead of a multitude of local banks.

147. Party Government.—There had been parties before, as we have seen, but from this time forward for many years, the system of government was party government. That is, not only did the people divide usually into two great parties on national questions, but they kept the same division in State and even in city and town questions. The discipline of party organization seemed to demand this. When a party came into power, it made a clean sweep of the offices, turned out the men of the opposite party who had held them, and put in men of their own party.

Jackson introduced this method of what was long called practical politics. He treated the offices as rewards for those who had worked for him.¹ It is estimated that when Congress first met after Jackson came into power, a thousand removals from office had taken place against about a hundred and fifty all told in previous administrations. Party government had already become common in the States, especially in New York; but from this time forward it was the rule throughout the country, and a class of men came into existence who made their living out of politics. Jackson was an imperious man, and his rule, unlike that of previous Presidents, was without much regard to his Cabinet. He was much influenced by a small group of his immediate friends, and it was they indeed who largely determined the changes in office.

148. Webster and Hayne.—Jackson had a powerful party behind him, and there were many in it who pushed to an extreme the doctrine of State sovereignty. The question whether the Constitution intended a Union superior to the States, or a compact between States where each was supreme, was debated in the United States Senate in 1830. Robert Young Hayne, of South Carolina, defended the State-sovereignty doctrine, and

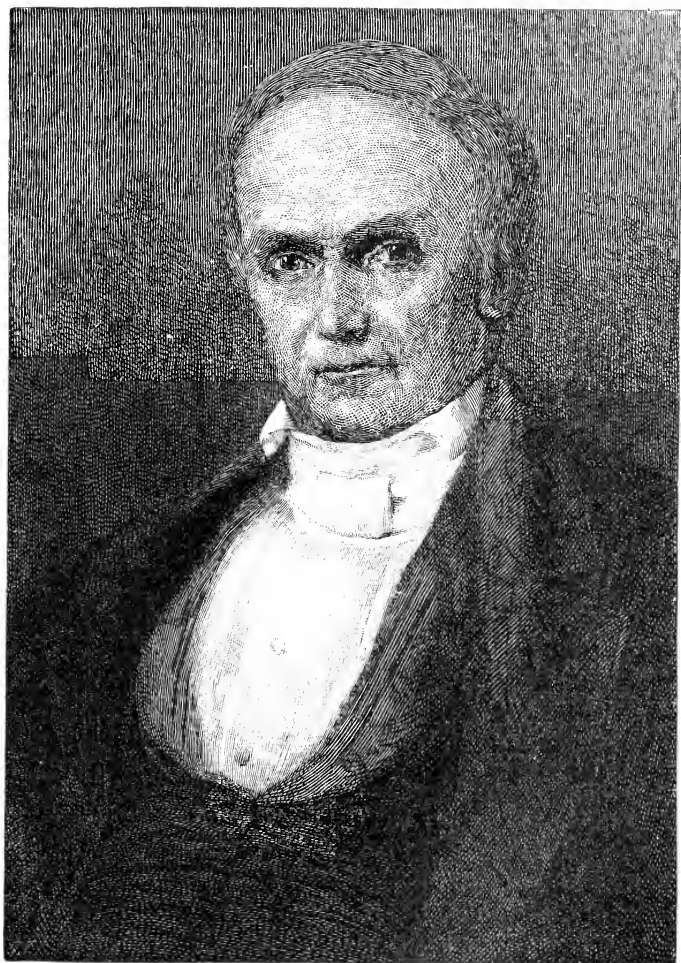
¹ The system has been called the Spoils System, from the remark made by a prominent politician that "to the victors belong the spoils."

Daniel Webster,¹ of Massachusetts, the doctrine of the supremacy of the Union. In the debate Webster earned the reputation of being the ablest constitutional defender of the Union. The closing words of one of his speeches, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," became a watchword.²

149. Nullification. — The Southern States had at first favored a protective tariff, because it had made a new market for cotton, where it would not be taxed. The Northern States, taking advantage of the tariff, had turned their energies to manufacturing. The tariff, by successive acts, had been made to cover a great many articles. The North was thus growing rich, but the South seemed to be gaining nothing. The great articles of export, cotton and tobacco, went from the South; it was by selling these that the country was able to buy goods from Europe. But when these goods came, a heavy tax was laid on them, and thus they had to be sold at a high price. The South said: "If the tariff be made lower, these goods which our tobacco and cotton have bought in England, will not cost us so much." The North objected: "Yes. But the

¹ Daniel Webster was born in Salisbury, now Franklin, N.H., January 18, 1782. He was educated first at Phillips Academy, Exeter, and afterward at Dartmouth College. He was so shy a youth that he could not be induced to speak a piece in school, but by the time he had left college he had overcome his shyness, and was noted as a debater. He was admitted to the bar in 1805, and practiced first in Portsmouth, N.H. He was a member of Congress in 1813, and was opposed to the war, though he did not go the length of the New England Federalists. In 1816 he removed to Boston, where he became famous as a lawyer. He took part in revising the constitution of Massachusetts, and was sent again to Congress in 1822. He had already become noted as an orator. His speech on the second centennial of the landing of the Pilgrims brought him great fame, and later his address at Bunker Hill, in 1825, added to his distinction. He was United States senator and Secretary of State under Harrison, and again under Fillmore. His public services are further referred to in the text. He made a powerful impression on his contemporaries by the weight of his presence and speech. Carlyle called him a steam-engine in boots. He died at his country home in Marshfield, Mass., October 24, 1852. The latest and best account of him is that by Senator Lodge, in the *American Statesmen* series.

² The speeches of Webster and Hayne well repay reading, not only as a discussion of a fundamental public question, but also for their rhetorical power.



Daniel Webster.

foreign goods will be so cheap that it will be impossible for us to manufacture and sell them at the same or a lower price, and all our manufactories will have to stop."

At last the State of South Carolina declared that the tariff had become so oppressive to her citizens that it could no longer be borne. A convention was called in November, 1832, which passed an ordinance declaring the tariff acts to be null and void so far as South Carolina was concerned. The convention threatened that if the Federal government should attempt to enforce the tariff acts, South Carolina, as a free and independent State, would withdraw from the Union. Nullification was the name given to the act by which the State declared certain laws to have no force in her territory. Mr. Calhoun and his followers maintained that the State could refuse to obey laws made by Congress, when those laws were injurious to her, and that the Federal government could not force her to obey. But people saw instinctively that force might be used; hence all over the State, military companies were formed, and preparations for resistance were made.

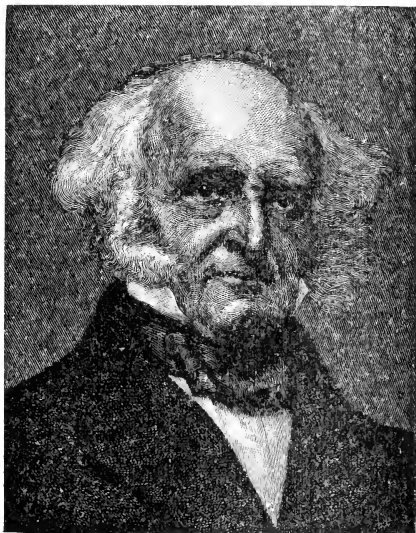
Clay's Compromise Tariff.—Though President Jackson believed that the States should manage their own affairs, he believed also that when laws were passed in Congress for the whole country, no one State had a right to refuse to obey those laws. He told South Carolina at once that, if she resisted, the whole force of the Union would be used against her. For a while it looked as if there would be fighting. But Clay, who was the leader of the protectionists, came forward and proposed a compromise by which the tariff was modified. South Carolina had won her point. The doctrine of Nullification had not been put to the test of arms; but the doctrine of State sovereignty had established itself still more firmly in the South.

150. The Bank of the United States and the State Banks.—The charter of the Bank of the United States was to expire in 1836. Jackson had shown hostility to the bank when he first came into office. Like Jefferson he regarded it as unconstitutional, and he looked upon it as a political machine in the hands of his enemies. He attacked it as a moneyed power which might, if not checked, become a menace to the liberty of the people. He threw all his personal influence, which largely controlled

his party, against the bill to recharter the bank and stopped the further deposit of Federal money in the bank, distributing it instead among certain State banks. As a result, the bank failed to secure a renewal of its charter, and a great impetus was given to State banks all over the country.

151. Inflation. — It was a period when there was the appearance of the greatest prosperity. Not only was the national debt paid off, but there was for a short time a surplus in the public treasury. Every one expected to be rich at once; railroads were built and canals were dug before there was business enough to warrant them; more goods were imported from Europe than were needed; everybody fell to speculating, and there was a rush to buy Western lands.

But the money paid for the lands was the paper of the banks, and the banks had is-



Martin Van Buren.

sued their paper far beyond their power to redeem it. Jackson, who was quick in perception, courageous and prompt, issued what is known as the specie circular. He did what Congress had refused to do: he made the regulation that nothing but gold and silver should be received for the sale of public lands. This caused a demand for specie at the banks where gold and silver were deposited, and soon the banks all over the country began to give way. There was a crash, and the year 1837 was long remembered as a year of bankruptcy and ruin.

152. Van Buren's Administration. — When Jackson's second term was ended, Martin Van Buren¹ of New York was elected President; he carried out Jackson's policy, and was justly considered his successor both in name and fact. During his

administration, the separation of the government from banking was rendered complete by the establishment of the subtreasury system, by which branches of the national treasury were established in important trade centers.

¹ Martin Van Buren was born at Kinderhook, N.Y., December 5, 1782. He was a lawyer, and in his early career a zealous adherent of Jefferson. He had a genius for political organization, and, after filling other offices, he was elected United States senator in 1821, and governor of New York in 1828. He was Jackson's Secretary of State. He lived a long life, but the latter part was spent in private affairs. He died at Kinderhook, July 24, 1862.

QUESTIONS.

When was Andrew Jackson inaugurated? How many years was he President? What change in the temper of people did the election signify? Define the two parties prominent in Jackson's administration. What was the Webster-Hayne debate? What effect on the two parts of the country did the protective tariff have? What action did South Carolina take? What is nullification? What stand did Jackson take? What was the action of Jackson in the case of the Bank of the United States? What effect did his course have on the State banks? What was the condition of the country afterwards? What was the nature of Van Buren's administration? What important act took place in it?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was the occasion of the Webster-Hayne debate? What was the Whig party in English politics? Was there any difference between the position taken by the advocates of nullification in South Carolina and that taken by the Federalists in New England during the War of 1812?

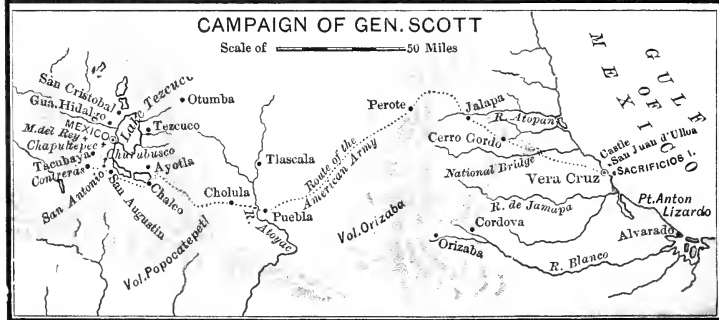
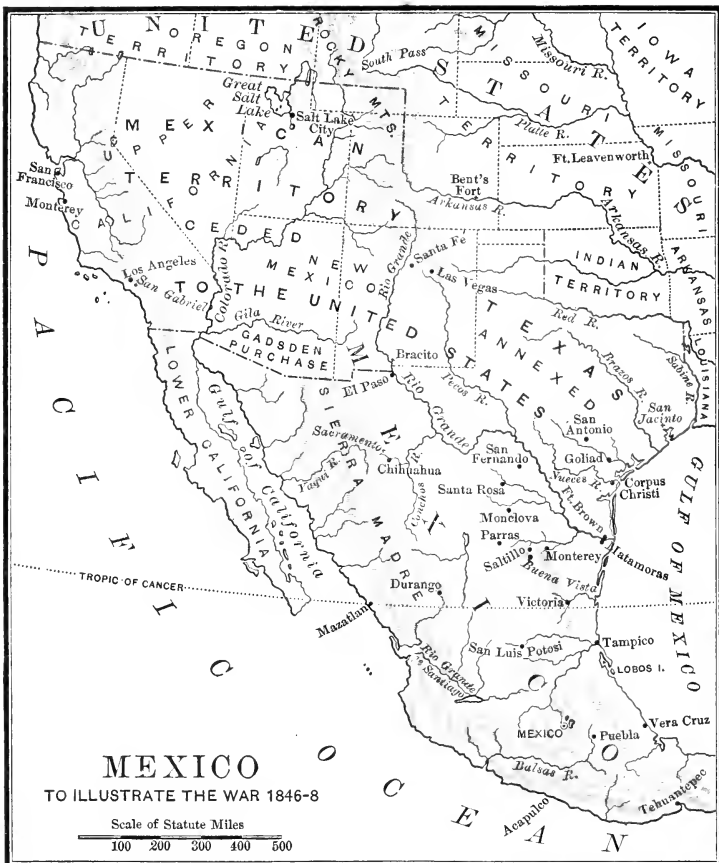
SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITION:

A comparison of the training of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson for the Presidency.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That Federal elections and city or town elections should not be held on the same day.



CHAPTER XVII.

TEXAS AND THE MEXICAN WAR.

Rio Grande (rē'ō grăn'dā).

Houston (hū'ston).

Corpus Cristi (kôr'pūs krīs'tē) =
Christ's Body.

Nueces (nwā'ses).

Palo Alto (pā'lō āl'tō).

Resaca de la Palma (rā-sā'kā dā-
lā-pāl'mā).

Kearney (kär'nī).

Santa Fé (săn'tā fā) = Holy Faith.

Fremont (fre-mönt').

Monterey (mön-te-rā').

Buena Vista (bwā'nä vēs'tä) = Fair
View.

Cerro Gordo (sēr'rō gōr'dō)

Jalapa (hā-lā'pā).

Puebla (pwēb'lā).

Contreras (kōn-trā'räs).

Churubusco (choo-roo-boos'kō).

Molino del Rey (mō-lē'no dēl rā)
= King's Mill.

Chapultepec (chā-pōōl'tā-pēk).

Gila (hē'lā).

Mesilla (me-sēl'yā).

153. Relative Expansion of North and South. — Since Missouri, two other States had been admitted to the Union, — Arkansas ¹ in 1836, and Michigan ² in 1837. Half of the States were now

¹ Arkansas was carved out of the great Louisiana, purchased in 1803, and took its name from the river so called by the Indians. There is doubtless some connection with the word Kansas. The name was pronounced sometimes Arkān'sas, sometimes Ar'kansaw; and there is a story of a very punctilious speaker of the House who followed carefully the divided pronunciation of two members, and never failed to recognize appropriately "the member from Arkān'sas," and "the member from Ar'kansaw." In 1881 a resolution of the State Senate declared the true pronunciation to be Ar'kansaw. When the State of Louisiana was formed in 1819, Arkansas became a portion of the new Missouri territory, until it was itself erected into a State.

² The early footfall of the white man in Michigan may be found in Section 23 of the Introduction. In 1670 La Salle visited the lake, and for a long time Michilimackinac was a center of Jesuit missions and Indian trade. In 1701 a military colony was planted at Detroit, and in 1760 the post came into the hands of the English. It was here that Pontiac laid his siege in 1763. By the treaty of 1783 the country passed to the United States, but it was not occupied as a portion of the Northwest Territory till 1796, and was made in 1805 a

free States, and half slave; but in population the free States were gaining more rapidly than the slave States. In 1830 the excess of population in the free States was more than a million; in 1840 it was nearly two and a half millions. Moreover, after the admission of Arkansas, Florida was the only territory which could be admitted as a slave State. To the north and northwest of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ lay an apparently boundless country, out of which free States could be formed. It was in this direction that the population of the country was moving.

Southern statesmen saw very clearly that by the natural growth of the country the free States would soon far exceed the slave States in territory, population, wealth, and political power. They saw that in order to maintain the relative importance of their section they must in some way enlarge the territory which they might occupy, and they looked for this to the great country of Texas. It lay south of $36^{\circ} 30'$, was suited to slavery, and was already occupied by many Southerners.

Texas was originally a part of the Spanish province of Mexico. When the United States bought Louisiana of France, there was a dispute with Spain whether the boundary of that province was the Sabine River or the Rio Grande. When, sixteen years later, the United States bought Florida of Spain, it was a part of the agreement that the line between Louisiana and Mexico should be the Sabine River.

154. The Independence of Texas.—In 1821 Mexico revolted from Spain, and formed a republic modeled after the United States. Like other Spanish states in America, it abolished slavery. The South thus had for its neighbor a free country hemming it in on the south and southwest. President John Quincy Adams and President Jackson each made the attempt to buy Texas of Mexico; but Mexico refused to sell. Meanwhile, emigration from the Southwestern States had set in, and many Americans had made their home in Texas.

territory by itself. The State early formed an important system of public education, crowned by the University of Michigan. An excellent account of the State is that by T. M. Cooley, at one time its chief justice.

The most noted of them was General Sam Houston¹ of Tennessee, who was the leader of an adventurous body of men. At his instigation Texas, in 1835, declared her independence of Mexico, and set up a government of her own, with Houston at the head. Texas then applied for annexation to the Union. The importance of such an addition was seen at once. Out of this vast territory five States could be formed. If slave States, they would greatly strengthen the slavery party. The Whigs, under Webster and Clay, opposed annexation. They said that to annex Texas was to go to war with Mexico; for Mexico had not acknowledged the independence of Texas.

155. Rise of the Abolitionists. — The question of the annexation of Texas was a political one, but it was discussed upon the ground of its relation to slavery, for the maintenance and extension of slavery was rapidly becoming the one great political subject. It was also taken up as a moral question. In 1833, the National Antislavery Society was formed. It represented the convictions of many at the North, and these convictions were largely formed through the influence of one man.

William Lloyd Garrison,² of Massachusetts, — a poor man,

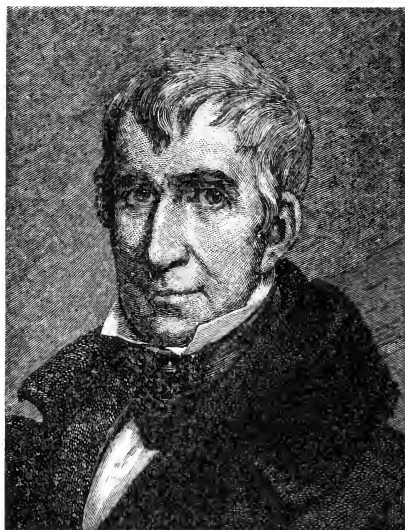
¹ Houston was a most picturesque character, and the reader will find it well worth his while to read a narrative of his life. One of the latest and most careful is that by Alfred M. Williams. The facts of his life are often obscure. He was born in Rockbridge County, Va., March 2, 1793. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, and lived much among the Indians; being, indeed, adopted by one of them. When he made a trip to Washington, in 1832, in the interest of some Indian tribes, he wore the Indian dress. He lived till July 25, 1863, when he died in Huntsville, Walker County, Texas. He was a strong Unionist until Texas passed the act of secession, when he followed his State.

² Garrison was born in Newburyport, December 10, 1805, of parents who had just removed thither from Nova Scotia. His boyhood was one of hardship, and after other experiments he was apprenticed to the printer of the *Newburyport Herald*. At the close of his apprenticeship he established the *Free Press* in the same town, and used, then as well as later, to set up his editorials in type without first writing them out. He had the pleasure of encouraging a young Quaker lad named Whittier by printing his early verses. In 1829 he went to Baltimore, where he advocated the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and, for his outspoken attacks on slavery, was sent to jail. In 1831 he established *The Liberator* newspaper in Boston. He was mobbed, and at one time was dragged through the streets of Boston with a halter

who had been bred a printer,—established a weekly newspaper, called *The Liberator*. It was devoted to the entire and immediate abolition of African slavery in America.

1831. For his part, he did not think the Union worth preserving if it protected the slave system. He took the ground that for a man to hold slaves at all is a sin. He was not the first to say this, but his openness of speech and his persistence

made him and his paper conspicuous. Others, men and women, came forward to support him, and the name of “abolitionists” was given them.



William Henry Harrison.

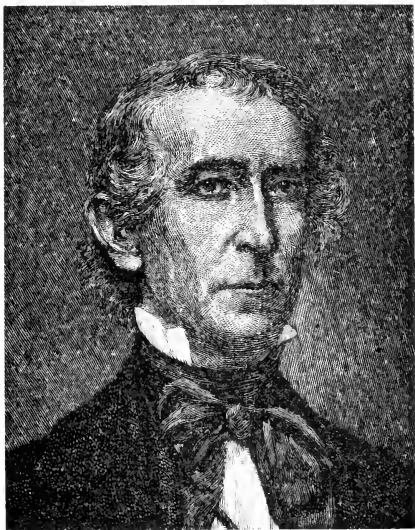
They did not as yet constitute a political party, but they kept up an incessant attack upon the evil of slavery. They were persecuted; their books and papers were destroyed; but every attempt to stop them only gave a new opportunity for the discussion of the rights and wrongs of slavery. The slavehold-

ers and their friends at the North declared that the abolitionists were destroying the peace of the country. They charged

about his body. But he never flinched. When he began the publication of *The Liberator* he wrote: “I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.” These words are cut into the pedestal which bears his statue in Commonwealth Avenue, Boston. He lived to see the accomplishment of the great reform he had agitated, and died in New York, May 24, 1879. His life has been written as an historical work by his children. There is a briefer one by Oliver Johnson.

them with inciting the slaves to insurrection, and they called upon friends of the Union to put them down.

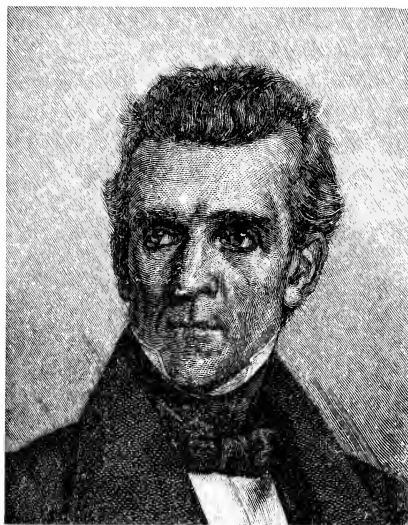
In Congress, rules were made to prevent the introduction of any matter hostile to slavery. Members tried to exclude petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories over which Congress had control. They took the ground that slavery was a matter which could not be touched by Congress. The right of petition has been a right held sacred by the people; and a champion for this right appeared in Ex-President John Quincy Adams, who had been sent back to Washington as representative in Congress from his district in Massachusetts. He presented these petitions again and again. The slavery party refused to admit them; and the consequence was that multitudes of people at the North were gained over to the antislavery side.



John Tyler.

156. Presidential Elections of 1840 and 1844. — When the election of 1840 occurred, the growing dissatisfaction with the Democratic party led to the election of the Whig candidate, William Henry Harrison¹ of Ohio. He died a month to a day after he entered office, and the Vice President, John

¹ We have already met Harrison in the Indian fights of the Northwest. He was the youngest son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the grandfather of that other Benjamin Harrison who



James Knox Polk.

Tyler,¹ of Virginia, became President. The question of annexation was hotly discussed in the Presidential election of 1844. Van Buren, who had opposed the annexation of Texas, was rejected by the Democratic party, and James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, who favored annexation, was nominated. Henry Clay was nominated by the Whigs. A bitter contest followed.

1844. The antislavery men, at first inclined

to follow Clay, left him at the last moment, when he came out in favor of annexation, and they voted for a third candidate.

was twenty-third President. He was born in Berkeley, Charles City Co., Va., February 9, 1773. He was educated at Hampden Sidney College, and began the study of medicine, but the Indian troubles of 1798 drew him into the army, against the wishes of Robert Morris, who was his guardian, but with the approval of Washington, who was a friend of his father. He came finally to live at North Bend, Ind., and the house in which he lived still retained at one end a log cabin built by one of the early settlers. When he was nominated for the Presidency, some enthusiastic person called attention to the republican simplicity of his living, and made much of the fact that he had hard cider instead of wine on his table. The cry of log cabin and hard cider was taken up as a campaign cry, and in the political meetings and processions pictures and models of a log cabin played a conspicuous part.

¹ John Tyler was born at Greenway, Charles City Co., Va., March 29, 1790. He was graduated at William and Mary College in 1807, and took up the practice of law. He served for a brief period in the House of Representatives in 1816, was for a while chancellor of William and Mary College, and in 1825 was elected governor of the State. The next year he was sent to the Senate. He was a Democrat, but was hostile to Jackson, and was nominated on the ticket with Harrison, with the expectation that he would draw after him the

157. Annexation of Texas. — Polk¹ was elected, and Texas was annexed by resolution of Congress. Two States were now admitted into the Union, — Florida in March, 1845, and Texas in December of the same year. In spite of the strong opposition to the annexation by the antislavery party, there was a general feeling of pride that the country had acquired so large an addition. Politicians in favor of annexation did their best to draw men's minds away from the question of slavery, and to persuade them to think only of the splendid prospects of the United States. They began to say that it was the "manifest destiny" of the nation to possess the whole continent.

Texas had been annexed and made a State, but Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and naturally resented this action of the United States. The republic of Mexico had little strength or union. It was composed of a population partly pure Indian, partly pure Spanish, and partly of both races mingled by marriage. The people had had very little training in self-government. The different states were jealous of one another, and the chief power was held by whatever military leader could command the largest force. But the Mexicans were a spirited people and prepared to fight. They refused to listen to an envoy sent by President Polk with offers to buy more of their territory.

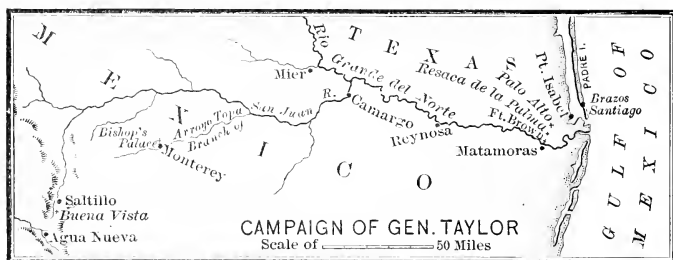
malcontents among the Democrats. But when he became President, his political principles made him obnoxious to the Whigs. He died in Richmond, Va., January 18, 1862.

¹ James Knox Polk was born in Mecklenburg Co., N.C., November 2, 1795. Like several of the Presidents he traced his descent directly from the sturdy Scotch-Irish element which appears in the early history of the Eastern coast. His father, who was a farmer, followed the course so often taken, and moved with his young family into Tennessee. In 1818 the future President graduated with honor from the University of North Carolina. He studied law, and was immediately successful at the bar. He was sent to Congress from 1825 to 1839, when he was chosen governor of Tennessee. During his Congressional career he was for four years speaker of the House, and ardently supported in turn Jackson and Van Buren. He favored the annexation of Texas, and won the Presidency in a contest with Henry Clay. He died in Nashville, Tenn., June 15, 1849.

158. Taylor's Movements in Mexico. — General Zachary Taylor with the greater part of the United States army, then numbering not more than five thousand men, was stationed in the neighborhood of Corpus Christi, in Texas. The town stood at the mouth of the Nueces River, which the Mexicans asserted was the boundary of Texas. The Texans claimed the Rio Grande as the boundary, and Taylor moved his army to the banks of that river. A Mexican force in the neighborhood

attempted to intercept his movements and captured
 May 8, 9,
 1846. a few Americans. As soon as this news reached

Washington, Polk sent a message to Congress asserting that war existed by the act of Mexico, and Congress declared war. Meanwhile Taylor, before he could hear of this, fought the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in which the Mexicans were defeated.



159. Kearney and Fremont. — Soon after the declaration of war, Colonel Stephen W. Kearney led an expedition from Fort Leavenworth into New Mexico for the purpose of separating that province from Mexico. He reached Santa Fé, and
 Aug. 18,
 1846. took possession of the country in the name of the United States. He declared New Mexico a territory of the Union and appointed a governor. Leaving some troops there, he pushed on to California with the same design. But he was anticipated by Captain John C. Fremont, who had been sent before the war on an exploring expedition. As soon as Fremont heard that war had been declared, he joined forces

with sailors and marines from vessels of the navy that were on the Pacific coast, and marched through the country to Monterey, the capital of the province. A number of American settlers were there, who proceeded to declare the independence of California and organize a government.

August,
1846.

160. Scott's Campaign. — Meanwhile General Taylor was moving up the Rio Grande, and after a siege captured Monterey in Mexico. He was moving upon the city of Mexico, and at the same time General Winfield Scott, who was in command of all the American forces, was to take the shorter, more direct route from Vera Cruz on the sea-coast. Scott ordered Taylor to send him ten thousand men. This weakened Taylor's army, and Santa Anna, the President of the Mexican Republic, and general of its army, attacked Taylor at Buena Vista. A desperate battle was fought. The Americans remained in possession of the field; the Mexicans withdrew and hurried to attack Scott, who was expected at Vera Cruz.

Sept. 24,
1846.

Feb. 27,
1847.

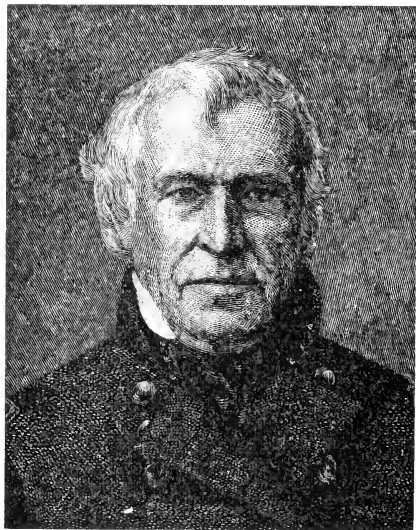
Scott landed, took Vera Cruz by siege, and marched toward Mexico, taking the same route that Cortez had followed more than three hundred years before. At Cerro Gordo, fifty miles northwest of Vera Cruz, he found the Mexicans intrenched. He stormed the position and carried it. Santa Anna retreated toward Jalapa. Scott followed him, took the place, and advanced to Puebla, where he lay till early in August, waiting for reinforcements. On the tenth of August the leading division of the army caught sight of the city of Mexico from the heights overlooking it.

March 27,
1847.

April 18,
1847.

When Cortez conquered Mexico the city was in the midst of a great lake. Since that time the Spaniards had drained the country about the city into three lakes. The city was approached by causeways crossing marshy land, and each causeway was defended by fortified rocky hills. It was at these points that the Mexicans made their final stand. The first

attack by the Americans was made on August 20, — the battle of Contreras. The battles of Churubusco and Molino del Rey followed. In each of these engagements the Americans were victorious, and came nearer and nearer to the city. Finally, the last defense of the capital, the rock of Chapultepec, was taken by storm; and the next day, September 14, 1847, Mexico surrendered.



Zachary Taylor. Born Sept. 24, 1784.

161. Acquisition of Territory. — This was the end of the war. A treaty was entered into with Mexico, by which the Rio Grande was made the southwestern boundary of the United States, and the

Feb. 2,
1848. Gila River the northern bound-

ary of Mexico. The United States paid Mexico fifteen million dollars for the territory which was thus added to its domain, exclusive of Texas. Five years later, the United States

bought the Mesilla Valley, south of the Gila River, for ten million dollars. General James Gadsden was the agent in this purchase. By these two cessions Mexico transferred to the United States the country now comprised in California, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, and New Mexico.

Wilmot Proviso. — A few months after the Mexican War opened, the President asked Congress to vote money for the purchase of territory from Mexico, that so he might end the war. David Wilmot, a Democratic member from Pennsyl-

vania, moved that the provision of the Ordinance of 1787 which forbade slavery should be applied to any such territory. His motion was lost; but the Wilmot Proviso became a doctrine of the new Free Soil party formed in 1848. This new party as well as the Democrats had a candidate for the Presidency in 1848; but the Whigs, who had nominated General Taylor, carried the day. President Taylor had a short administration. He died July 9, 1850, and was succeeded by the Vice President, Millard Fillmore, of New York.

QUESTIONS.

What was the relative proportion of free and slave States in 1840? How did the two sections compare in population? What new country seemed available for the increase of slave territory? What attempt had been made to buy Texas? What course was taken by Texas itself? What man and what newspaper stood for immediate abolition of slavery? How were the Abolitionists received? What difficulties did the discussion of slavery meet with in Congress? How long did Harrison serve, and who took his place? Who was elected in 1844? How was the admission of Texas regarded? How did Mexico regard it? Narrate General Taylor's movements. Describe the movements of Kearney and Fremont. Give in detail the incidents of the war from September, 1846, to September, 1847. What territory came into possession of the United States in consequence of the war? What was the Wilmot Proviso? What general of the war was so popular that he was elected President?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

When was slavery abolished by England? What is the story of the Alamo? What American satire was written against annexation? What was the Bear Flag expedition?

SUBJECTS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

The political thought in Lowell's *Biglow Papers*.

The storming of the Alamo.

DEBATE:

Resolved, That the Mexican War resulted in good both for Mexico and the United States.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.

Joaquin (hō-ä-kēn').

El Dorado (dō-rä'dō) = The Golden Region. The name given by the Spaniards to a fabulous region in

America, supposed to be the richest spot in the world.
Laramie (lär'ä-mē).

162. Boundary Disputes.—Texas was the last slave State added to the Union. The tide of emigration was moving steadily northwestward. In 1846 Iowa was admitted into the Union, and in 1848 Wisconsin.¹ While the representatives of the people in Congress were struggling with the question of free or slave territory, the people themselves were rapidly increasing the influence of the free States. The limit of the country on the north was the boundary line which separated the United States from the British possessions. When a treaty of peace was made after the war for independence, this northern boundary was made to run from the St. Croix River to the Mississippi.

The St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes marked most of the boundary, but for a part of the way there was only an imaginary line which never had been laid down in a survey. Thus there was a large tract of country which was claimed by the inhabitants of Maine and by those of Canada. The dispute ran high, and sometimes led to petty warfare, which threatened, at one time, to bring the two nations into open war. In 1842

¹ Both of these States made generous provision for education. They stand among the most eminent in carrying out the policy, dominant in the West, by which constitutional provision is made for a system including schools of all grades, from common schools to the university.

the English government sent Lord Ashburton as special commissioner to settle the dispute; and he, with Mr. Webster, who was Secretary of State, agreeing upon a compromise, established the northeastern boundary as it now stands.

The Spanish Claims on the Pacific. — The territory west of the line of Mississippi had originally been claimed by Great Britain and by France. The dividing line west to the Rocky Mountains was on the forty-ninth parallel. When the great struggle between England and France was ended in 1763, France ceded to England all her territory east of the Mississippi, and by a secret treaty to Spain all that she claimed west of that river. When, therefore, in 1800, Spain ceded back to France what she had received in 1763, the United States in 1803 bought the same of France, the boundary continued to be the forty-ninth parallel on the north, and the Rocky Mountains on the west.

But Spain still claimed the Pacific coast as far as beyond 61°. She then held Mexico and California, and her vessels sailed up and down, trading with the natives. England also had settlements on the coast, and Spain conceded to her some right of possession, the two countries agreeing to trade peaceably side by side. When Spain sold Florida to the United States, in 1819, she relinquished all claim to the country north of the forty-second parallel, and west of the Rocky Mountains.

163. The Oregon Country. — Whatever claim, therefore, Spain once had to that country, the United States now received from Spain. It extended indefinitely to the north, was bounded on the south by the parallel of 42°, and lay between the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains. It went by the name of Oregon, and included the present States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and part of Wyoming and Montana, as well as part of British Columbia. The United States rested its claim to this territory on other grounds. In 1792 Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, discovered and partly explored the river which he named, after his vessel, the *Columbia*.

According to usage, the country drained by the river became

the possession of the nation to which the discoverer belonged. Lewis and Clarke also had followed the Columbia and its tributaries; and after their return, John Jacob Astor, a New York fur merchant, sent out a company, and established near the mouth of the river a trading post, to which the name Astoria¹ was given. On the other hand, the Northwest Fur Company of England, consolidated in 1821 with the Hudson's Bay Company,² had trading posts at the mouth of Fraser's River and at various points in the Oregon country.

Joint Occupation of Oregon. — After the second war with England, when both countries claimed this region, it was agreed in 1818 that they should hold it jointly for ten years. The Hudson's Bay Company, which was fully equipped for the fur trade, increased its stations. At the end of the ten years it seemed to have almost entire possession. In 1827, when the ten years were near an end, it was agreed to continue the joint occupation until notice of its termination should be given by one nation or the other. When this agreement was thus renewed, St. Louis was the great center of the fur trade of the West.

Expeditions from that point into the disputed territory soon became common. The hunters brought back word of the fine farming and grazing lands they had seen, and parties of emigrants began to make their way in that direction. The Hudson's Bay Company, though hospitable to newcomers, naturally sought to keep the trade, especially that in furs, in its own hands. The United States government was strongly advised by officers of the army and traders who visited the country to establish posts there in order that an authority equal to that of the British might be asserted. These travelers, moreover, demonstrated the possibility of access to the country, and described its resources.

164. A Boundary Compromise. — Fortunately for the peace of the country, the agreement between the United States and

¹ See Washington Irving's *Astoria*.

² This company received its charter in 1670. An interesting account of its operations may be read in *The Great Lone Land*.

Great Britain distinctly asserted that the claim of either nation to the country was not to be jeopardized by any settlements which might be made by either Englishmen or Americans. The agreement for joint occupation was to be terminated by at least a year's notice from either party. Nevertheless, such a joint occupation could not be satisfactory. The Indians that lived in the country grew restless as they saw white men taking up their abode on Indian hunting grounds. There was always danger also of feuds between the English and the Americans, especially regarding the control of trade, and it was plain that the new communities formed could not prosper when there was uncertainty as to what government they were under.

As successive parties of emigrants from the United States entered the disputed country, the necessity for decision became more apparent, and both Congress and the Administration at Washington took up the subject. It entered into national politics. The Democratic party, with Polk for its presidential candidate, raised the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight," meaning that the United States should demand of England all of the country up to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$, which was the southern limit of Russian America. England on its part stood out for a boundary marked by the Columbia River. In Congress, more than fifty speeches were made for and against the termination of the agreement of joint occupation.

Meantime, one administration after another in its correspondence with the government of Great Britain had insisted upon a line drawn at 49° . When Lord Ashburton came over in 1842, he was instructed to make counter propositions, but was forbidden by his government to accept the line of 49° . There was some informal discussion between Lord Ashburton and Mr. Webster respecting the Oregon boundary, but the subject never came to a distinct issue. Lord Ashburton was too desirous to settle the northeastern boundary to jeopard that matter by discussing the Oregon boundary; he had strict instructions not to accept the boundary of 49° , and it was evident that the American government would accept nothing short of that.

The controversy was closed in 1846. The British government yielded its claim, and proposed to the United States that they should agree on the parallel of 49° straight through from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and a treaty was drawn up on this basis and concluded.

165. The California Pioneers.—In the same year that California became United States territory, gold was discovered in

1848. the valley of the Sacramento River, at the mills of Colonel Sutter, a Swiss immigrant; and a very hasty exploration showed that there was a great deposit of the precious metal. The news spread all over the world, and immediately there followed a rush to the gold region. The great body of the immigrants was at first made up of men only, who came chiefly from the Northern States of the Union.

There were three modes of reaching California: by ship round Cape Horn;¹ by ship to Panama, thence across the isthmus, and again by ship; and finally by the overland route. In two years there were a hundred thousand inhabitants in the valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. The splendid harbor of San Francisco gave shelter to vessels which came from all parts of the world. The town of San Francisco, which in 1840 had only five hundred inhabitants, now sprang into a city.

At first California was regarded as an El Dorado. It was occupied by a restless population searching for gold; but the needs of the new country quickly attracted merchants, while the fruitful valleys induced farmers to settle. Many who had come to dig for gold found it more profitable to engage in business or agriculture.

The overland route to California was a perilous one. Beyond the settled country lay the "plains," a hundred days' journey from the California valleys. Great herds of buffalo were found on these plains, and were hunted by roving tribes of Indians. In 1848 Fort Laramie, in what is now Wyoming, was the extreme western limit of population.

¹ Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* is a notable account of such a voyage and contains also a vivid picture of San Francisco before the discovery of gold.

166. The Mormons and Utah. — At one spot, however, midway on the route to California, a remarkable settlement had been made. Joseph Smith, a resident of western New York, declared that he had received revelations from God; in 1830 he published a book called the *Book of Mormon*. He formed a society of men and women, and they made a settlement at Kirtland in northern Ohio and afterward at Independence in Missouri. In 1838 they were driven out of Missouri, and a new settlement was made at Nauvoo, in Illinois. Six years later, Joseph Smith was killed, and in 1847, the Mormons, under Brigham Young, made a new move; this time they went far beyond the western frontier and established themselves in the valleys of what is now the State of Utah.

Irrigation. — The early immigrants to Utah were inured to every hardship and privation of pioneer life. Some of their trains were attacked by the hostile Indians of the plains, and others, delayed by severe snow storms in the mountains, lost many of their number before reaching the valley of the Great Salt Lake. In this valley they encountered conditions which were entirely different from any they had known in the Eastern States. The soil, though naturally rich, can be rendered productive only by irrigation. They dug ditches which carried the water of the mountain streams out into the valleys, and in a few years the former desert was producing all sorts of grains, fruits, and flowers. Irrigation had been practiced for centuries by the natives of Mexico, but it was in Utah and by the Mormons that this system of cultivation was introduced on a large scale in the United States.

Domestic and Religious Customs. — The land was divided in such a way that every family had its lot to cultivate, and by the practice of the community, every one who worked could have a share in the enterprises which enriched the community. A contribution of one tenth of the annual income of each member was paid in cash, produce, or labor for the support of the church. Mormon missionaries traveled in the older States and in Europe, making converts and bringing them to the new home.

They offered to people who were discontented and to the hard-worked poor a land of promise and plenty. They appealed to religious people, and declared that God was with them, as He had been with the Jews of old. In process of time many settlements were made in the valleys throughout Utah that were favorably located for irrigation. Towns and cities were built, and an energetic people, engaged in diversified industries, produced for themselves almost every article of utility and comfort.

This Mormon community differed in many ways from the settlements of the older States. It was a great industrial community, but the power was held in the hands of the officers of the church. Their religion also countenanced polygamy, and thus they were still more a peculiar people. They were working out their problems with the advantage of separation from other people. But Utah now lay in the track of the overland migration to California. Hence the Mormon rulers, remembering what persecution they had undergone in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, gave no encouragement to the passage of emigrant trains through their settlement.

167. The Compromise of 1850.—President Taylor was eager to bring California into the Union before the question of slavery in that Territory should be discussed in Congress. He urged the people of California to call a convention and
 1849. organize a State. They did this; and, since they were largely from the North, they formed a constitution prohibiting slavery, and applied for admission into the Union.

At the time when California thus applied, Henry Clay had come forward with a new compromise, by which he hoped to settle the growing dissensions. He tried to satisfy the proslavery party by proposing to grant ten million dollars to Texas in return for territory given up, to organize the territories of Utah and New Mexico without any provision regarding slavery, and especially to enact a more rigid Fugitive-Slave Law.

The Fugitive-Slave Law. — The Constitution expressly gave to slaveholders the right to recover their slaves if they escaped into another State; but the increasing hostility of people in the free States to the system of slavery made it extremely difficult for slaveholders to find and recover runaway slaves, when they escaped into the free States. The matter was one of great irritation to slave owners. They complained that they were deprived of their rights, in direct opposition to the Constitution. The new Fugitive-Slave Law was therefore so drawn as to require United States commissioners to be more vigilant in hunting for runaway slaves. It gave new powers to the claimant in establishing the identity of the person claimed; it also gave the officers the right to call upon any citizen to help them in the search and capture.

Clay and Webster. — To satisfy the antislavery men, Clay proposed the admission of California as a free State, and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia. He took the ground that if Utah and New Mexico were organized as territories, and left to settle the question of slavery themselves, both the proslavery and the antislavery men in those territories would have equal rights. Webster gave his support to the Compromise of 1850. Like others, he viewed with alarm the growing dissension between the two sections of the country. He was a great public leader, and he worked with all his might to preserve the Union against the attacks of the extreme proslavery men and the attacks of the abolitionists.

The Immediate Result of the Compromise. — California was admitted into the Union; New Mexico and Utah were constituted territories, Brigham Young being appointed the first governor of Utah; Texas received ten million dollars; the slave trade in the District of Columbia was abolished, and the Fugitive-Slave Law was passed. There were 1850. many at the North who declared that this law interfered with the sacred rights of personal liberty. Some of the States passed Personal Liberty laws, designed to protect free negroes who were charged with being runaway slaves.

QUESTIONS.

What was the boundary dispute with Great Britain? How was it settled? Who were the successive claimants of the territory west of the Mississippi? What were the ancient limits of Oregon? How had the country been explored? how occupied? What was the special wealth of the country in early days? What were the claims respecting possession? How was the question of boundary settled? When and where was gold first found in California? How did the emigrants to that country reach it? Narrate the incidents connected with the rise of the Mormons. How was Utah made fertile? What division was made of the land? How did the religious belief of the Mormons enter into their living? How did the Mormons increase their number? What was the compromise of 1850? What were the provisions of the Fugitive-Slave Law? What part did Clay take in the compromise? Webster? What were the immediate results of the compromise?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was the origin of the Hudson's Bay Company? What was the Aroostook War? What was the Great American Desert, and what has become of it? What poem did Whittier write about Webster?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.**COMPOSITIONS :**

A pioneer's journey to California.

A Mormon missionary.

DEBATE :

Resolved, That the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law was wise.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY.

168. Growth of Administration. — The addition to the United States of the great domain between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean marks an important period in our history, which agrees practically with the middle of the century. It was the beginning of a continental occupation, and also of the great conflict which was to determine the future character of the Union. There were now so many States, and so great a population, that there was not room in the old Capitol at Washington for the senators and representatives. President Fillmore¹ 1851.

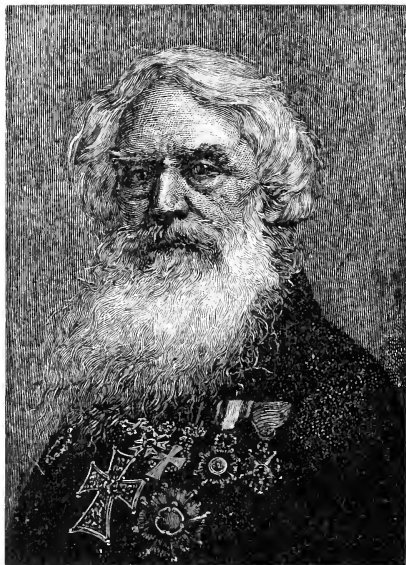


Millard Fillmore.

laid the corner stone of the extension of the Capitol. In 1849 the Department of the Interior was created to do part of the administration work formerly done by other departments.

¹ Millard Fillmore was born January 7, 1800, in Cayuga County, New York, where his father had just made a clearing in the wilderness. He worked his way out of a manual occupation into the profession of the law, and in 1823 began the practice of law in Aurora. In 1830 he removed to Buffalo. From

169. Telegraphs and Railroads. — Joseph Henry, a distinguished man of science, made important discoveries in magnetism and electricity, and in 1840 Samuel F. B. Morse, an artist, had made such application of the principles that he received a



Samuel Finley Breese Morse.¹

patent for an electric telegraph apparatus, and four years later the first telegraph line in this country was built, extending from Washington to Baltimore. The construction of this line inaugurated a new and rapid means of communication. From that small beginning the business of telegraphing has grown to such proportions that in 1900 seventy million telegrams were handled by the telegraph offices in the United States.

The development of the country by means of railroads and canals

1836 to 1842 he was a Whig member of Congress. During the short time that he presided over the Senate, before the death of Taylor, he showed himself an able and impartial officer. After retiring from the Presidency he led a quiet life of travel and study, and died in Buffalo, March 8, 1874.

¹ Morse, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791, was the son of a clergyman whose name was long preserved by the geography which he wrote. He was educated at Yale College, and there came under the influence of Day and Silliman, who were pioneers in science in America. He became a portrait painter, and was the first president of the National Academy of Design, which he helped to found. He had not lost his interest in physical science, and in 1832 when crossing the Atlantic he conceived and sketched the process of telegraphing which is known as the Morse system. He had a long struggle to perfect his apparatus, to secure and to defend his patent, but after that he received honors from all parts of the world. He died April 2, 1872.

was very rapid. The first railroad in Illinois began operation in 1838. It was chartered as the Northern Cross Railroad, and extended from Meredosia to Jacksonville and thence to Springfield. In 1851, the Illinois Central Railroad was chartered. It received a large grant of public land, and in consideration thereof, it was stipulated that the State of Illinois should receive for all time seven per cent of the gross earnings of the road. In 1852, the Michigan Southern Railroad was completed to Chicago, making through connection between Chicago and the East. The Niagara Suspension Bridge was finished in 1855, and the first bridge across the Mississippi was built the same year at Minneapolis. In 1857, Chicago and St. Louis were joined by rail and at the same time a traveler could go through by rail from Baltimore to St. Louis.

170. Various expeditions were sent out by the government to secure a better knowledge of the national domain. In 1848, and again in 1852 and 1853, Captain Fremont was sent out at the head of exploring parties to the Rocky Mountains. He was an adventurous explorer, and was popularly called "the Pathfinder." The discoveries which Fremont made, and the new importance of California since the finding of gold there, led the government to make more careful surveys. The War Department undertook one to determine the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.

It was in the middle of the century that the United States took an active part in explorations in other parts of the world. It sent Captain Wilkes to the Pacific Ocean, where he explored the Antarctic Continent; it sent Lieutenant Lynch to explore the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea; it sent Commodore Perry with a fleet to Japan, — a country which had heretofore been almost unknown to Europe and to America.¹

¹ The United States government published valuable reports of all these expeditions. Not only did Commodore Perry do much toward opening Japan, but Townsend Harris, the first American envoy to Japan, was a very important figure in the negotiation of the first treaties. See his *Life* by William Elliot Griffis.

171. Increase of Immigration. — But the most important connection which the United States had with the rest of the world was through the very great increase in the number of Europeans who crossed the Atlantic to make their home in the New World, as it was still called. There were several reasons for this impulse given to emigration in the middle of the century. One was political. In 1848, attempts were made by the people in different European countries to secure greater freedom and government more like that of the United States. These attempts failed for the most part; but the failure caused many of the leaders, who were men of ability and influence, to come to America. But stronger reasons for the movement of Europeans to America were to be found in the discovery of gold in California, the opening up of the Western country by railroads, and the cheapness of land.

Emigration from Ireland. — At first the immigrants were very largely English-speaking, and their migration was caused in part by a great famine in Ireland in 1847. People in the United States sent shiploads of food and made contributions of money in aid of the sufferers. The gift showed that America was a land of plenty, and a new impulse was given to emigration from Ireland. Although many of these emigrants had worked on farms at home, they found employment chiefly in towns and cities and few went beyond the Atlantic cities. The coming of such a body of foreigners made a great change in the life of the people, especially in New England. The young men and women who had been working in the factories and mills were eager to go to the West and to California. The Irish stepped in and took their places. They found higher wages than they had known; they were strong and willing.

The German and Scandinavian Emigration. — The ocean vessels brought emigrants from other countries of Europe. They came by thousands annually from various parts of Germany, and from Norway and Sweden, and in lesser numbers from other countries. They were a vigorous and industrious class

of people who contributed largely to the settlement and development of the great West and Northwest. Though they did not speak the English language, they came originally from a kindred race of people.

They readily adopted American habits, and in a few years became genuine American citizens who loved their adopted country, and were ready to defend its institutions. They found homes in Illinois and Michigan and Iowa, taking the places, very often, of the restless American pioneers who had been the first settlers of these States. The Germans in Wisconsin, and the Scandinavians in Minnesota and the Dakotas, constitute a very large percentage of the population of these States.

During the first fifty years of the existence of the government, one million immigrants came into the United States. During the next ten years, from 1841 to 1850 inclusive, the tide of immigration brought nearly a million and three quarters of home seekers to our shores, and, as we shall see later, this was but the beginning of a great movement from Europe to America.

172. The Reaping Machine. — This occupation of the West was promoted by the great improvement in labor-saving machines, by means of which large farms could be operated by a comparatively small number of men. The most notable invention was the reaping machine, first patented by Cyrus McCormick, in 1834, and afterward greatly improved. It was significant of the rapid advance made by American inventors that in 1855, when a trial of reapers was made in France, three machines were exhibited from America, England, and Algiers, and a field of oats was reaped. The Algerian machine cut an acre in seventy-two minutes; the English, in sixty-six minutes; the American, in twenty-two minutes.

173. Growth of City Life. — The extension of railways made it possible for the great farms in the West to send grain and other provisions to the cities very cheaply. The lonely little farms in the hill country, nearer the seaboard, became less

valuable and many were deserted, while the cities grew larger and larger. This rapid growth of the cities made it difficult for them to govern themselves wisely. There were important matters, like the supply of the city with water, the system of sewerage, the public schools, the erection of public buildings, the police force, the care of the streets, which called for great sums of money and needed forethought and care.

The city was always likely to grow faster than the citizens expected. There was an increasing number of persons who were in the city only for a short time; there were many others who were intent on their private business and gave little attention to public affairs; and there was a large body of voters who had never been trained in popular government. The government of the cities was in the hands of a few men, chosen by the people, and they were left very much to themselves; so it was often the case that shrewd and selfish men acquired power, and governed the cities for their own personal advantage rather than for the best good of the whole.

174. The steady stream of immigration had an important effect on the history of the country not so clearly understood at the time as now. The people who crossed the Atlantic were laboring people, and they would not go to the Southern States, where the laborers were slaves. Besides, the great carrying trade between Europe and America was largely in the hands of the Northern commercial cities. Hence this army of laborers swelled the population of the North, adding to its activities, building railroads, working in the factories, and pushing forward the filling up of the West and Northwest. All this strengthened the northern part of the Union in the coming struggle.

175. The Intellectual Life. — The ocean vessels brought emigrants from Europe, — the best gift which they could bring, for men and women make a country. They brought also an abundance of European goods; the shops were filled with costlier articles than American workmen made. Pictures were

brought over for exhibition and sale; singers found great audiences waiting to hear them; more books were bought.

It was of greater importance that the people themselves began to give attention to other matters than buying and selling, making money, and spending it on houses, food, and clothing. They had more leisure, and they busied themselves with politics, religion, and education, — matters for which they had always greatly cared. The habit of meeting and acting together when political affairs required made it natural for the people to form societies, whenever they had anything to accomplish which needed the help of numbers.

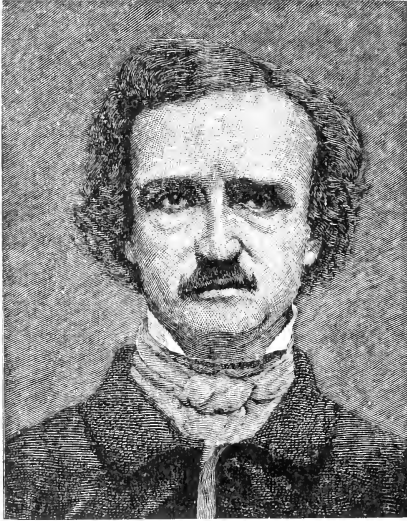
These associations brought together people otherwise widely separated. There were publication societies formed by the churches, which multiplied books, papers, and tracts. These were carried by means of agents to remote villages and homes. Education societies helped to establish schools and colleges in the thinly settled parts of the country. There was a Colonization Society, which tried to answer some of the vexed questions of slavery by sending free blacks to Liberia, in Africa.

The Lyceum and the Newspaper. — This was a time when the lyceum system became popular. In the cities and towns there were courses of lectures. As children went to school, so older people went to the lyceum to hear lecturers who brought them the latest thought on science, literature, art, and philosophy. The newspaper had become a familiar visitor. There were daily papers in all the cities and towns. Even books were published in papers. The public schools had taught everybody to read; and the writings of popular English authors were printed in great newspapers, and sold so cheaply that large numbers were bought and read.

American Literature. — American authors were taking their place among the great men in literature. George Bancroft, who had been Secretary of the Navy¹ and minister to England, was midway in the publication of his *History of the United States*.

¹ It was under his secretaryship that the Naval Academy at Annapolis was established.

In 1849, Edgar Allan Poe, most imaginative of American poets, had died.¹ In 1850, Washington Irving had written all his books except his *Life of Washington*. The poems by which William Cullen Bryant is best known had been written and published. James Fenimore Cooper died the next year, leav-



Edgar Allan Poe.

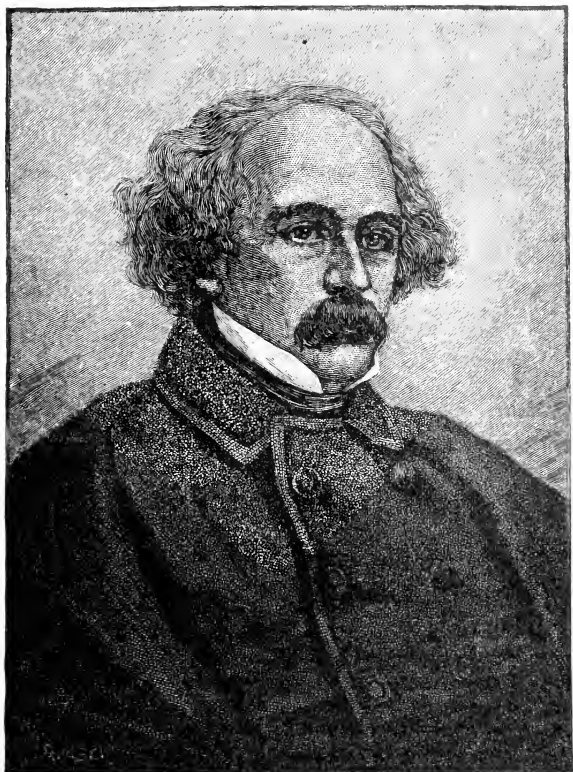
ing behind him a long list of novels, the best of which were descriptive of American life.

In the middle of the century Nathaniel Hawthorne,² the greatest of American romancers, had written *The Scarlet Letter*, which made him famous. Henry Wads-

¹ Edgar Allan Poe, the son of a Baltimore gentleman and an actress, Elizabeth Arnold, was born in Boston, January 19, 1809. He was left an orphan when three years old, and was adopted by a wealthy merchant in Richmond, Vir-

ginia, who gave him his own name for a middle name. Poe was well educated by his foster father and sent to the University of Virginia, but he was an ungovernable, wayward youth, keenly intellectual, brilliant, and restless. He ran into debt, enlisted in the army under an assumed name, published a small volume of poems, was for a while at West Point, and finally, thrown on his own resources, became editor of one magazine after another, married a mere girl, and came under the strong sane influence of her mother. He died finally in poverty and degradation, October 8, 1849, but he had written poems and tales which the world will not let die. The most careful life is that by G. E. Woodberry.

² Nathaniel Hawthorne was born in the old seaport of Salem in Massachusetts, July 4, 1804, but he spent his boyhood in the solitude about Lake Sebago, Maine, for his father died early, and his mother was a silent, retiring woman. The boy grew up shy, but with a deep love of nature and a habit of living in his own thoughts. He was a student at Bowdoin College with the



Nathaniel Hawthorne

poet Longfellow, and after he left college he lived a secluded life in Salem, writing stories and sketches which found here and there an appreciative reader, and when collected as *Twice Told Tales* were warmly praised by the best critics. Fortunately he married happily Miss Sophia Peabody, who made a perfect companion, and with her he lived contentedly at Salem, at Concord, in the Berkshire Hills, and — when President Pierce made him consul — at Liverpool in England, and Italy. He wrote marvelous romances, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of the Seven Gables*, *The Marble Faun*, and those delightful books, *Grandfather's Chair* and *The Wonder Book*. He died in Concord, May 19, 1864. A very pleasing book has been written about him by his daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, entitled *Memories of Hawthorne*.



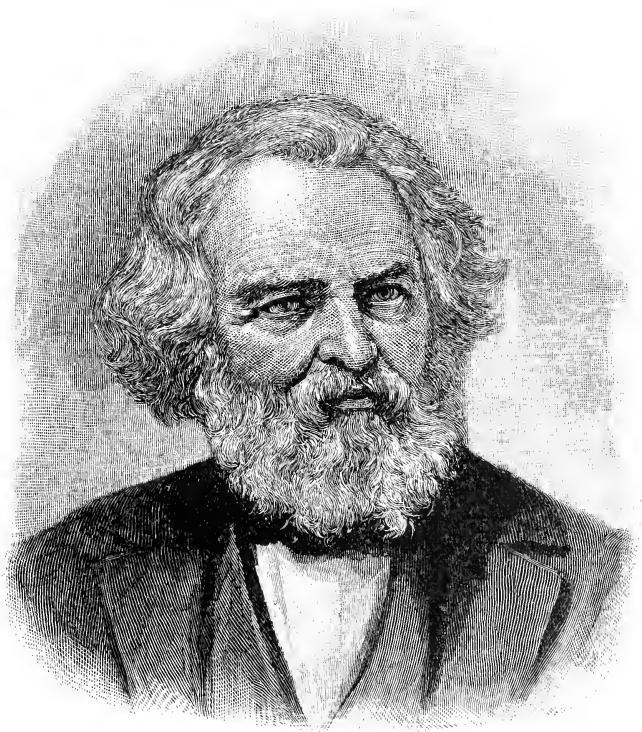
Ralph Waldo Emerson.

worth Longfellow¹ had published *Evangeline*, and many of his most popular poems. Ralph Waldo Emerson² had become known, by his

¹ Longfellow was born in Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807. He was educated at Bowdoin College, and showed at once such aptitude for a literary life, that he was invited, though he was only nineteen at graduation, to be a professor in the college. He went to Europe and spent three or four years in travel and study, laying the foundation for that full, rich acquaintance with language and literature which is so evident in his writing. He remained at

Bowdoin five years, and then with another year of study abroad took up the work of professor of modern languages and literature at Harvard College. He had been writing prose for ten years, when in 1839 he issued a small volume of poetry, *Voices of the Night*, and after that, till the end of his life, wrote freely in verse, translating also, especially Dante. He gave up his professorship in 1853, but continued to live in the famous house in Cambridge, known as Washington's Headquarters. There he wrote *Evangeline*, *Hiwatha*, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, and his many well-known short poems. He died March 24, 1882.

² Ralph Waldo Emerson came of long ministerial descent on both his father's and mother's side. He was born in Boston, May 25, 1803, was educated at Harvard, and after a short experience in teaching, himself became a minister. But he did not long wear the minister's gown; for though he was ready to preach, he wished to be free of church organizations, and his parish came to be the English-reading world. His first published prose work, *Nature*, appeared in 1840, and about the same time he began to print his poems; and for forty years, from his quiet home in Concord, he sent out his poems and essays, frequently, also, addressing audiences from the lecture platform. His wise speech entered into the thought of Americans as perhaps that of no one else. He died in Concord, April 27, 1882. His life has been written by Dr. Holmes.



Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Essays, as one of the great masters of English prose. There were other writers whose books were eagerly read: John Greenleaf Whittier, poet, a man of Quaker birth who had a zeal for pure religion and for freedom, and whose poems were a trumpet call; Oliver Wendell Holmes, poet and wit; William Gilmore Simms, novelist; James Russell Lowell, poet and satirist, whose *Biglow Papers* helped people to understand the meaning of the Mexican War, while they laughed over the verses; and others by whom American literature became a distinct voice of the nation.

Now, when the Whig administration under Fillmore was coming to an end, a book appeared which was, for the time, more widely read throughout the world than any other. This book was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.¹ It was a story written to show what slavery was, and what it meant in the lives of men and women, white and black, in the Southern States of the Union. It went home to the hearts and minds of people; they laughed and cried over it by turns. In vain the Southern people said that it was not a true picture of life at the South. It was a great story, and people believed it. Before this book appeared, slavery had come to be discussed publicly in Congress and in the newspapers. Now it was talked about in every home in the North, as well as in many in the South.

¹ Mrs. Stowe (born June 14, 1811) was the daughter of a famous Congregationalist preacher, Lyman Beecher, who had a still more famous preacher for his son in Henry Ward Beecher. There was a large family, and Harriet, when her father moved from Massachusetts to Cincinnati, at first taught in her sister's school, and then married Professor Calvin E. Stowe, a professor in the theological seminary of which her father was president. In Cincinnati, she was in the midst of an antislavery society, and was constantly reminded by escaping slaves of the terrors of the system. She went with her husband to Bowdoin College, when he was made professor there. She had for some time written short stories and sketches; but now she was eager to bear her testimony against slavery, and she wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared first in a newspaper. The book made her famous, and she entered with religious earnestness into the cause of antislavery; but she was also a natural story-teller, and during a long life she sent forth a long list of stories, sketches, and poems. She died in Hartford, July 1, 1896.

QUESTIONS.

When was the corner stone of the extension of the Capitol laid? What new department of the administration was then formed? Who were the men of science who inaugurated the telegraph? Give some account of the extension of railroads. What exploring expeditions were sent out by the government in the middle of the century? What great impetus was given to immigration? Name the great sources of supply. What invention greatly affected agriculture? What were some of the difficulties encountered in the government of cities? What effect had immigration on slavery? What were some of the social developments of the time? What was the lyceum system? What can you say of the newspaper of the day? Name the group of American authors who constitute the older and now classic group. What one book in particular aroused attention?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What use is now made of the old senate chamber in the Capitol? What was the first public dispatch sent by Morse? Name the most important piece of literature contributed by each writer mentioned in Paragraph 175. Why should the poor man in Europe wish to go out into the American prairies?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

- An account of the exploration of the South Polar regions.
- What a model newspaper would be.
- S. F. B. Morse and his trials and success as an inventor.
- The story of Perry's success in Japan.
- An account of one of Hawthorne's books that I have read.
- The railroads of to-day compared with those of sixty years ago.

DEBATES:

- Resolved*, That it is wise for the general government to restrict immigration by the exclusion of paupers and the illiterate.
- Resolved*, That electricity is of more value to man than steam.

CHAPTER XX.

THE APPROACHING CONFLICT.

Topeka (tō-pē'ká). Osawatomie (ōs-ā-wōt'ō-mē). Taney (tā'nī).

176. Pierce's Administration. — In 1852, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, who was the Democratic candidate, was elected President. At this election General Winfield Scott was the candidate of the Whigs, and it was the last contest in which this party appeared with a candidate for President. During the administration of Pierce, the first treaty of peace, amity, and commerce was concluded between the United States and Japan; and an expedition was fitted out under command of Elisha Kent Kane, to search in the Arctic seas for Sir John Franklin.¹ But all other affairs were subordinate to the great affair which was looming up before the nation.

177. The Kansas-Nebraska Contest. — The abolitionists had demanded immediate emancipation. The large body of anti-slavery people at the North admitted that the Constitution protected slavery in the States then known as the slave States, and so directed their efforts to limit the bounds of slave territory. When the rapid expansion of the country beyond the

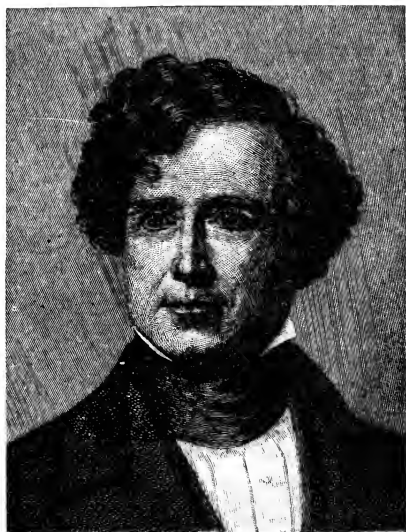
¹ Sir John Franklin was an English Arctic explorer who, after two successful expeditions, set out on a third, in 1845, hoping to make the northwest passage. After three years, nothing being heard, search parties began to be sent out; and from 1848 to 1859 at least twenty-one parties continued to search for the missing men. As late as 1880, a private expedition from the United States continued the search. Definite evidence was secured of the death of Franklin and many of the crew. The spirit of sacrifice which was displayed by the heroic endeavor to rescue Franklin was a notable characteristic of America and England during this period, and gave a great impetus to Arctic exploration. Tennyson married Sir John's niece. Kane's account of his expedition is a spirited book.

Missouri made it necessary to organize governments there, that country became the battle ground where the forces of slavery and antislavery met. The contest was both on the floor of Congress and in the country itself.

Stephen Arnold Douglas, a senator from Illinois, introduced a bill for organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. This bill assumed that the Compromise of 1850 had repealed the Missouri Compromise. It gave to the territories which were north of 36° 30' the right to decide, by vote of their inhabitants, whether they were to be slave or free States. A sharp debate followed, and old party lines were broken up. The members who opposed the bill were called Anti-Nebraska men.

1854.

The bill was passed, and the people at the North at once began organizing compa-



Franklin Pierce.¹

nies of emigrants.² They meant to settle the question of

¹ Franklin Pierce was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804. His father was governor of the State. The son was a fellow-student at Bowdoin College with Hawthorne and Longfellow; and Hawthorne, who was warmly attached to him, wrote a sketch of his friend when he was a candidate for the Presidency. Pierce became a lawyer, and for a brief period was a member of Congress, successively in the House and Senate; he also served in the Mexican War, where he rose to the rank of brigadier general. He made himself very unpopular at the North by his steadfast adherence to the policy of the proslavery party. He retired to private life after his Presidential term, and died October 8, 1869.

² See Whittier's poem, "The Kansas Emigrants."

slavery in Kansas and Nebraska by being on the ground beforehand. Large numbers of men went out with the expectation of having to fight, and a comparatively small number of full families. The South wished to add the two territories as slave States; but there was no widespread movement of emigration with slaves into the territories. The situation would plainly have been one of great peril to slaveholders, as regards the retaining of their slaves.

The greatest sensitiveness was felt in Missouri, for if Kansas and Nebraska were to become free States, Missouri would be almost surrounded by populations inimical to slavery. From the western borders of that State, therefore, came men, not all slaveholders by any means, but with the attitude toward slavery naturally taken by those who had always lived in a slave State. Many came as frontier men, pushing the border farther westward.

The Conflict in Kansas. — The greatest conflict was naturally in Kansas, and the struggle lasted with some interruptions until Kansas was admitted as a State. It was at the polls that the contest began. The Missourians came in crowds

1855. across the border, voted down the free-state men, and returned in triumph to their homes in Missouri.

The result was the election of a territorial legislature by more than twice the number of legal voters in the territory. This legislature adopted severe proslavery laws. The free-state men replied by holding a convention at Topeka, framing a constitution hostile to slavery, and electing officers under it. There were now, therefore, two governments in the territory. But the government at Washington refused to admit the State under the Topeka constitution, and upheld the territorial officers.

A period of actual warfare followed. The town of Lawrence, which was the headquarters of the free-state men, was attacked, and some of its chief buildings were burned. Retaliation followed. One of the most conspicuous of the free-state men was John Brown of Osawatomie, as he was called, because of a

famous fight at that place. He and his men at one time crossed into Missouri, destroyed considerable property, and set free some slaves. The Northern and Northwestern States continued to pour men into Kansas and Nebraska, and it soon became clear that there was a large majority in favor of making the territories free States. But a territorial convention dominated by the proslavery party met at Lecompton and framed a constitution, under which a persistent attempt was made to secure the admission of Kansas as a slave State.

The Contest in Congress. — Discussion in Congress meanwhile grew more bitter, and affairs in Kansas gave occasion for frequent debate. There was a contest, which lasted two months, over the choice of speaker of the House of Representatives. It resulted in the election of N. P. Banks of Massachusetts, an Anti-Nebraska man. It became clear that the one question of the day was the momentous one of slavery or antislavery.

178. Nicaragua and Cuba. — It illustrates the instinctive demand of the South for more territory in which the system of slavery could have free play, that a company of Southern men under William Walker in 1852 formed an expedition with the purpose of conquering Nicaragua and reëstablishing slavery in Central America; and that Southern politicians made an effort in 1854 to secure the purchase of Cuba by the United States, threatening forcible possession of Cuba if Spain would not sell.

179. Buchanan's Administration. — In the election of 1856 the Democratic party was again successful, and James Buchanan¹

¹James Buchanan spent his life in political service. He was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791, and was educated at Dickinson College. He became a lawyer, and had immediate success. In 1820 he became a member of Congress, and continued to represent Pennsylvania till 1831. The next year he was sent by Jackson as minister to Russia, where he negotiated the first treaty of commerce between the United States and Russia. On his return from Russia, he was elected to the Senate, and held his seat there till 1845, when he was appointed Secretary of State by President Polk. He went back into private life during the Whig administration which followed; but when Pierce was chosen President, Buchanan was sent as minister to England. He died at his place, Wheatlands, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868.

of Pennsylvania was chosen President. But John C. Fremont, the candidate of the Republican party, as the Anti-Nebraska men now called themselves, had nearly as many votes. There was so much enthusiasm over Fremont that the leaders at the South became more than ever convinced that power was passing from those who defended slavery to those who opposed it.

180. The Dred Scott Decision. — But a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States gave them new confidence. It was



James Buchanan.

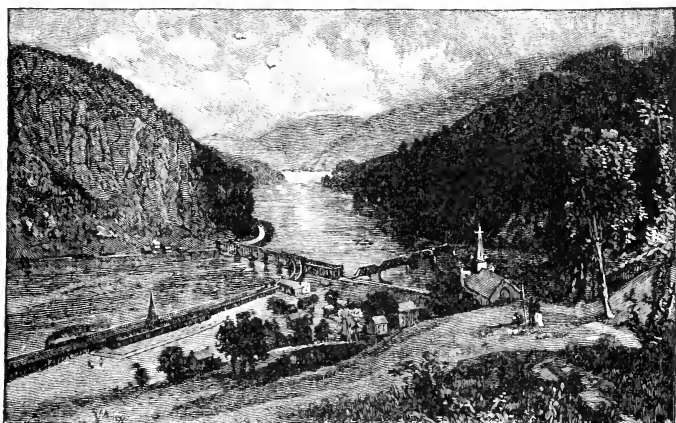
in the case of the negro named Dred Scott, whose master had taken him from the slave State of Missouri to the free State of Illinois and thence to the territory of Minnesota, where he remained for some years. After being taken back to Missouri, and sold, Scott sued for his liberty, on the plea that, having resided on free soil, he had become a free man. Chief Justice Taney delivered the decision of the Court, which was to the effect that a negro was not a citizen,

and therefore could not sue in the United States courts. Furthermore, the Court expressed the opinion that slaves were not persons in the eyes of the law, but things; that Congress had no more right to prevent slaveholders from carrying their slaves into any State or territory and holding them there, than it had to forbid them from carrying horses or any other property. This decision seemed to place the Constitution, and hence the law, on the side of slavery. But it was so startling

to those who had not been brought up in the slave States, that it deepened the antislavery feeling throughout the North.

181. John Brown's Raid.—Minnesota became a State in 1858, and Oregon in 1859. In this year John Brown collected a small body of men, white and black, in the mountains of Maryland. He made a sudden attack upon Harper's Ferry, where there was a United States arsenal, which he seized and held for a few hours. The attack

Oct. 16,
1859.



Harper's Ferry.

was a direct assault upon slavery. Brown had resolved to carry the war into what he regarded as the enemy's country, and he expected to see the slaves flock to his standard. There were few at the North who knew of his purpose; and the country, North and South, was amazed at the act. John Brown was wounded and taken prisoner; some of his associates were killed, and some were taken with him. He was tried by the State of Virginia, sentenced, and hanged. His action was generally condemned by the people, but many declared him a martyr to freedom, and accused slavery of provoking him to the deed. His act, moreover, deepened the

feeling of the South that the North was in a hostile attitude; and public opinion at the South held the North responsible for Brown's movement.

182. The Election of Lincoln. — The Democratic national convention met at Charleston in April, 1860, but being unable to agree on a candidate, it adjourned to meet in Baltimore in June. When the convention reassembled, it was found that there were irreconcilable differences between the Northern and Southern wings of the party. As a result, the convention divided; the delegates from the Northern States nominated Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and those from the South named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Doubtless this rupture of the Democratic party exerted a potent influence throughout the country, and was largely responsible for the result of the approaching election. The Republican party held its convention in Chicago, and nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. A fourth party, calling itself the Constitutional-Union party, nominated John Bell of Tennessee.

Mr. Lincoln was in favor of prohibiting the extension of slavery by law, and Mr. Breckinridge favored its extension by law; the issue between these two candidates was clearly defined. Mr. Douglas, in harmony with his doctrine of "popular sovereignty," advocated non-interference, while Mr. Bell made the preservation of the Union the keynote of his campaign. An exciting and memorable canvass followed. The result showed that the Republican party had carried every free State except New Jersey; Abraham Lincoln was to be the next President, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine Vice President.

QUESTIONS.

Name two incidents of Pierce's administration. What was the bill introduced by Douglas? Narrate what took place on the passage of the bill. How was the conflict in Kansas carried on at the polls? What were the rival governments in the territory? Who was John Brown? What contest arose in Congress? What filibustering expedition took place? Who were the candidates for the Presidency in 1856? Who was

elected? What was the Dred Scott decision? Narrate John Brown's raid. Who were the candidates for the Presidency in 1860? What issues did they represent? Who was elected?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was the Ostend Manifesto? Name some of the polar expeditions since that of Kane. What was the Emigrant Aid Society? Who was governor of Virginia when John Brown was tried? What saying by Judge Taney at the time of the Dred Scott decision stirred up great excitement? Name some famous poems directed against slavery.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

- An account of the attack on Lawrence.
- An account of Walker's expedition.
- Lincoln's boyhood.
- The Underground Railroad.
- An account of Nansen's search for the North Pole.
- An account of the Lincoln-Douglas debate.
- The story of Dred Scott.

DEBATES:

- Resolved*, That John Brown's raid was the act of a fanatic.
- Resolved*, That expeditions in search of the North Pole are of no benefit to mankind.
- Resolved*, That a citizen should stand by his State rather than by the Union.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECESSION.

Beauregard (bō'rē-gard). | terms agreed on ; used of an army
Capit'ulate. To surrender upon | or a garrison.

183. Southern Political Character.— During the discussion which preceded the election, the people of the North heard repeated threats from the South that if the Republican party were successful, the slaveholding States would leave the Union. They refused to believe these threats. They thought them only the angry declamation of a few heated politicians. Yet the threats were sincere. The voters of the South had learned to look upon the North as thoroughly hostile to the South. They made little distinction between the Republican party and the abolitionists, and they felt instinctively that an administration elected in a spirit of opposition to slavery would find many ways to injure it.

The political habits and the ways of life in the South made it easier for Southern voters to believe in disunion as a cure for the evils which they were sure had come upon them. The doctrine of State Sovereignty had become familiar ; it had been laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and had been upheld by Georgia in the difficulty with the Indians, and by South Carolina in its Nullification Act. The concentration of political power in a comparatively small number of persons in each State, who acted together, made it still easier for them to think of the State by itself rather than as a part of the Union.

In fact, the older Southern States kept the character which they had when they were colonies of Great Britain more distinctly than the older Northern States. They were still planting States; they still had their own social life; the same families lived upon the same estates. There was no such constant movement from one State to another as in the North, nor any such introduction of immigrants from Europe. They were Carolinians or Virginians rather than Americans.

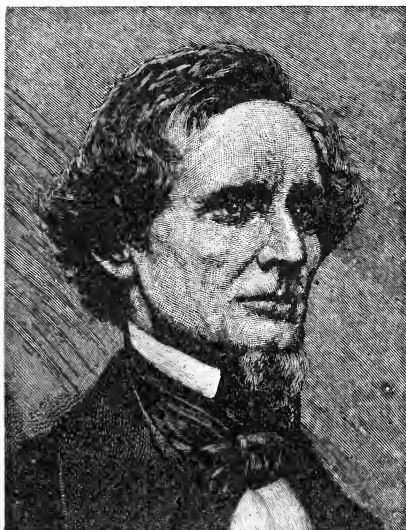
184. The Secession Conventions.—South Carolina took the lead in fulfilling the promise of secession. As soon as it was known that Mr. Lincoln was to be the next President, the senators from South Carolina and all officeholders in the State under the Federal government resigned. The legislature called a State convention, and on the 20th Dec. 20,
1860. of December the convention unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. The ordinance bore the title: "An Ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her in the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States." A copy of the ordinance was sent to each of the slave States, and commissioners were appointed to arrange with the Federal government the terms of dissolution.

The example of South Carolina was followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, all of which passed ordinances of secession. The question January,
1861. was not submitted to the people; it was the action of the States in popular conventions, a political method universal at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and most familiar in Southern usage; the action of these conventions was unanimous only in the case of South Carolina, and afterward of North Carolina.

In February, 1861, a convention of delegates from the six States that had then seceded, met at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a government under the name of the Confederate States of America. The constitution adopted was mainly that of the United States, except that it made careful provision for

slavery, and forbade a protective tariff. Jefferson Davis,¹ of Mississippi, was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice President.

185. The Seizure of the Forts. — In bringing about the act of secession, the political leaders at the South were not all bent



Jefferson Davis.

on breaking up the Union. They exercised what they regarded as a constitutional right and reasoned that they could make better terms over slavery out of the Union than in it. But since the States taking part in secession were acting as sovereign States, they at once took measures to obtain possession of the arsenals, forts, and other property of the United States within their borders.

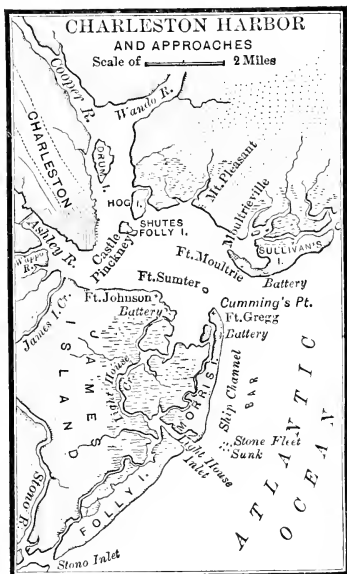
The United States army was scattered at distant posts; but the larger part was in Texas, under General Twiggs, who obeyed the command of the Confederate States to surrender his forces.

¹ Jefferson Davis was born in Christian County, Kentucky, not a hundred miles from Lincoln's birthplace, June 3, 1808, and was thus nearly of the same age. He was graduated at West Point in 1828, but resigned from the army in 1835. After that his career was in politics, except that he served in the Mexican War. He was a member of Congress from Mississippi in 1845, and in 1847 he became United States Senator, but resigned in 1851, and was candidate for the governorship of his State. He was defeated, and at once was reëlected to the Senate. In 1853 he again resigned, to become Secretary of War under Pierce, and at the end of his term went back to the Senate, where he was found when the secession movement came. He was an uncompromising adherent to Calhoun's doctrines.

The forts throughout the South were mainly in the hands of Southern men, who delivered them to the new authorities. The commanders of Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and of the forts at Key West and Tortugas, refused to give them up.

The greatest interest attached to the forts within the borders of South Carolina. The harbor of Charleston was commanded by Forts Sumter and Moultrie and Castle Pinckney. Fort Sumter was not yet finished, but a garrison, under Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian, was occupying Fort Moultrie, which was a weaker work. On the night of the 26th of December, Major Anderson secretly transferred his men and supplies to Fort Sumter.

South Carolina demanded the evacuation of the fort. President Buchanan refused the demand, and determined to provision the fort; for this purpose he sent the steamer, *Star of the West*, with supplies and reinforcements. He intended the expedition to be a secret one, but it was known at once in Charleston, and the steamer, when it appeared, was fired upon and driven back. The South Carolinians had taken possession of the other forts in Charleston harbor, and now erected additional works. They planned these for the defense of the harbor against United States vessels, but especially in order to attack Fort Sumter. They placed General P. G. T. Beauregard in command of the harbor defenses.



Jan. 9,
1861.

186. Efforts at Conciliation.—Seven of the slaveholding States had seceded; the rest hesitated. The North, and many

in the South who loved the Union, clung desperately to the hope that disunion might yet be averted. Men of all parties joined in efforts to bring about a return to harmony. President Buchanan was filled with perplexity. He could not execute the laws in the seceding States, and Congress gave him no help. He denied the right of the States to secede; he also denied the right of the government to coerce them when they did secede. His Cabinet was divided. The Southern members dropped out as their States seceded.

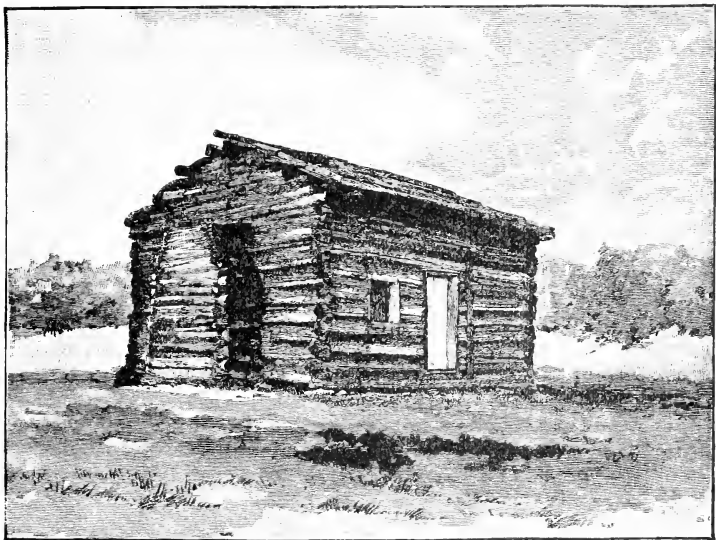
In Congress, one measure after another was proposed in hopes of staying the tide. Mr. Seward, a senator from New York, and the most conspicuous of the Republicans, was willing to give up congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories, to enforce the Fugitive-Slave Law, and to perpetuate slavery by a constitutional amendment. The Southern senators and representatives left their seats in Congress as fast as their States seceded, and a Republican majority was thus obtained. Congress now admitted Kansas as a State, 1861. and passed a protective tariff bill designed to encourage manufactures. Resolutions intended to pacify the South were passed by both houses.

Great meetings were held in the cities, denouncing abolitionism, and urging extreme concession to the South. Prominent journals of both parties declared that armed coercion was madness, and never would be permitted. A Peace Conference, called by Virginia, met at Washington in February.¹ The delegates, who came from all the States that had not seceded, tried to bring about harmony between the sections.

The State of Public Opinion.—The people throughout the country were in a state of bewilderment. The men in authority seemed to have no power to direct affairs. The Union appeared to be going to pieces, and already were heard plans of what would be done when the division came. The South had so often seen the North yield, when the question of slavery was pressed, that it stood firm; it expected to

¹ It was presided over by ex-President Tyler.

have its own way. The administration of Mr. Buchanan was to cease on the 4th of March. A President was then to come into office whose election had been made the occasion of the secession of seven States. Threats were uttered that he would not be allowed to take the oath of office, but Mr. Lincoln escaped danger by entering the capital unexpectedly after a journey from his home in Springfield, Illinois.



Lincoln's Birthplace.

187. Abraham Lincoln was a man who had not, heretofore, had large experience in important official positions. He was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky. His parents were poor, and his father, who was of a roving disposition, took his family in 1816 to Indiana, and there they lived until Lincoln was twenty-one, when they moved again to Illinois. He received meager schooling, but pored long over a few books, — *Æsop's Fables*, a life of Washington, Burns, Shakespeare,

and the Bible.¹ He worked hard with his hands as a young man, splitting rails, and he learned the surveyor's art. He kept store also, but he had little interest in money-making. At one time he was one of the owners of a flatboat that floated down to New Orleans.² In 1832 occurred the Indian outbreak, when Black Hawk, an Indian chief, crossed the Mississippi with a band of Indians and entered Illinois. Lincoln volunteered as a soldier and was elected captain of his company.

Finally he took up the study of law and began practice when he was twenty-eight. He took a keen interest in politics and was shortly after elected a member of the Illinois legislature, and for one term was a member of Congress. But he was best known in his own State as a forcible public speaker, and he won great distinction in a series of debates which he held in 1858 with Douglas, when they were both candidates for the United States Senate. Lincoln was defeated in the election, but in the speech which he made when he was nominated for the Senate, he had said: "‘A house divided against itself cannot stand.’ I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

These words were often repeated by others, and they served to indicate where Lincoln stood on the great question which was profoundly stirring the nation. The public men of the East, who knew him but little, were at first perplexed by

¹ "His chief delight during the day, if unmolested, was to lie down under the shade of some inviting tree to read and study. At night, lying on his stomach in front of the open fireplace, with a piece of charcoal, he would cipher on a broad wooden shovel. When the latter was covered over on both sides, he would take his father's drawing knife or plane and shave it off clean, ready for a fresh supply of inscriptions the next day. He often moved about the cabin with a piece of chalk, writing and ciphering on boards and the flat sides of hewn logs." — Herndon's *Lincoln*.

² It was while in New Orleans that Lincoln saw the sale of a mulatto girl, and was so revolted by the sight that he said to his companions: "Boys, let's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing [that is, slavery], I'll hit it hard." — Herndon's *Lincoln*.

his habit of listening to what everybody said without expressing his own conclusions. They feared he lacked decision of character, but it was not long before it was seen that he had the great qualities of a leader who not only knew his own mind, but the mind of the people he was leading.¹ The President of the Confederacy was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, who had achieved distinction as an officer in the Mexican War, and as Secretary of War, under President Pierce. He was a man familiar with public affairs.

The Condition of the Country. — Mr. Lincoln, upon taking the President's chair, found the government in great confusion. The treasury was nearly empty. There were but few troops within call. Military stores were largely in Southern forts and arsenals. The vessels of the navy were scattered in distant waters, and officers both of the army and of the navy were resigning their commissions on the ground that they owed allegiance first to the States from which they came. The public offices were largely occupied by persons in sympathy with the secession movement, and every step taken by the new government was known at once to the leaders of the Confederacy. Mr. Lincoln, meanwhile, was beset by a vast horde of office seekers, eager to take advantage of the change of administration.

188. The Attack on Sumter. — President Lincoln waited a month, and then notified Governor Pickens, of South Carolina, that he should send supplies to Fort Sumter at all hazards. Thereupon General Beauregard asked instructions from the government at Montgomery, and was ordered to open fire on the fort. He first called on Major Anderson to surrender; but Anderson refused, and at daybreak on the morning of Friday, April 12, 1861, the Confederacy began its attack on the United States.

¹ There are many lives of Lincoln, but no one that is at once brief and adequate. Perhaps the most satisfactory sketch is that by Carl Schurz. Chittenden's *Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration* gives well the human side of the great man. A readable story, *The Graysons*, by Edward Eggleston, has Lincoln for a prominent figure in it.

The first shot was fired from the Cumming's Point battery. Fort Sumter replied with a shot, and the bombardment thus begun continued for thirty hours without loss of life on either side. The ammunition in Fort Sumter was then exhausted, and the fort was on fire. Thereupon the United States flag was lowered, and the garrison capitulated. The housetops in Charleston were thronged with spectators, and the telegraph carried news of the engagement hourly over all the land. On Sunday, April 14th, the garrison marched out.

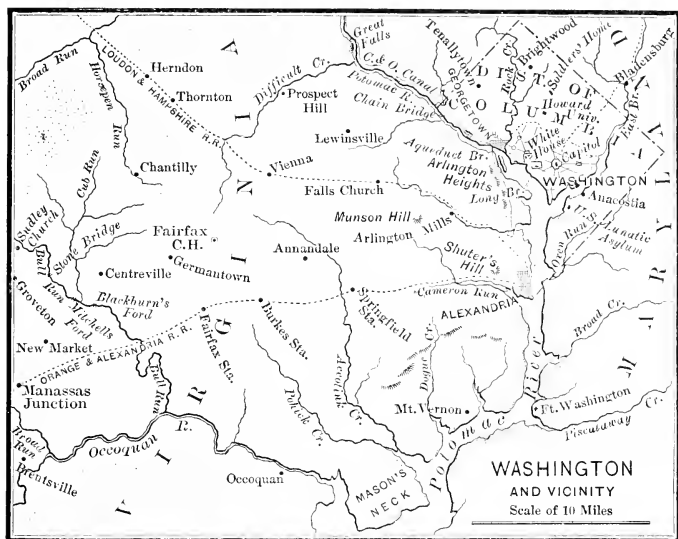
On the morning of the 15th President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers, to serve for three months, and summoning Congress to meet in extra session. The response to the demand for troops was immediate; distinctions of party were swept aside, and for a time there was but one party at the North,—the party for the Union.

189. The Marshaling of the Opposing Forces.—Immediately the States of the South which had wavered were compelled to make their choice. Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee joined the Confederacy. There was a strong anti-Union element in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri; but, though many men went from these States into the Confederate army, the States did not break away from the Union.

The high table-land of the Appalachian range, which is the backbone of the eastern part of the Union, was unfavorable to slave labor; it was occupied by a sturdy mountain folk, and throughout the war a vigorous Union sentiment prevailed there, especially in east Tennessee and west Virginia.

Virginia was the most important accession to the Confederacy. There was, however, in the western counties so strong an opposition to secession, that these counties refused to obey the convention which passed the ordinance of secession; they chose a legislature which claimed to be the true government, and at last formed a new State, which was admitted into the Union in 1863 under the name of West Virginia.

Old Virginia at once became the chief battle ground of the war. The Confederate government was moved from Montgomery to Richmond; and since Washington was separated from the Confederacy only by the Potomac, it was clear that the great contest would be fought in the country which lay



between the two capitals. Throughout the war which followed, the Southern people called themselves Confederates; the Northern people called themselves Unionists. These names are full of meaning. The contest was between the Confederacy and the Union; for, little by little, the Southern people had strengthened themselves in the belief that the weak union of the days of the formation of the Constitution was a confederation of sovereign States; the Northern people had grown to the conception of a Nation which included all the States in an inseparable Union.

QUESTIONS.

Why did the North disbelieve threats of secession? What had led the South to entertain the thought of secession? What State took the lead in carrying out the promise of secession? What other States followed her lead? What general government was formed at the South? What was the first governmental act in opposition to the United States? What forts came into the hands of the Southern States? What forts in the South remained in the possession of the United States? Narrate the action that took place with regard to the forts in Charleston harbor. What was Buchanan's position? What attempts were made at conciliation in Congress? What was the Peace Conference? What was the condition of affairs on the eve of President Lincoln's inauguration? Narrate the incidents of Mr. Lincoln's life before he was elected President. What had been Jefferson Davis's antecedents? In what condition did President Lincoln find the country when he took office? Relate the incidents connected with the attack on Sumter. What was the immediate effect on the country? What effect did the attack on Sumter have on the South? What action did Virginia take? Where in the South was there a sentiment for the Union? What were the names the two opposing sections gave each other and themselves?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

How did President Lincoln enter Washington? What was the Confederate flag? Where was the first capital of the Confederacy? the second? On which side was ex-President Tyler in the war? What became of the various members of President Buchanan's Cabinet?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

The firing on Fort Sumter.

What President Jackson would have done if he had been in Buchanan's place.

The remote and the immediate causes of the war for the Union.

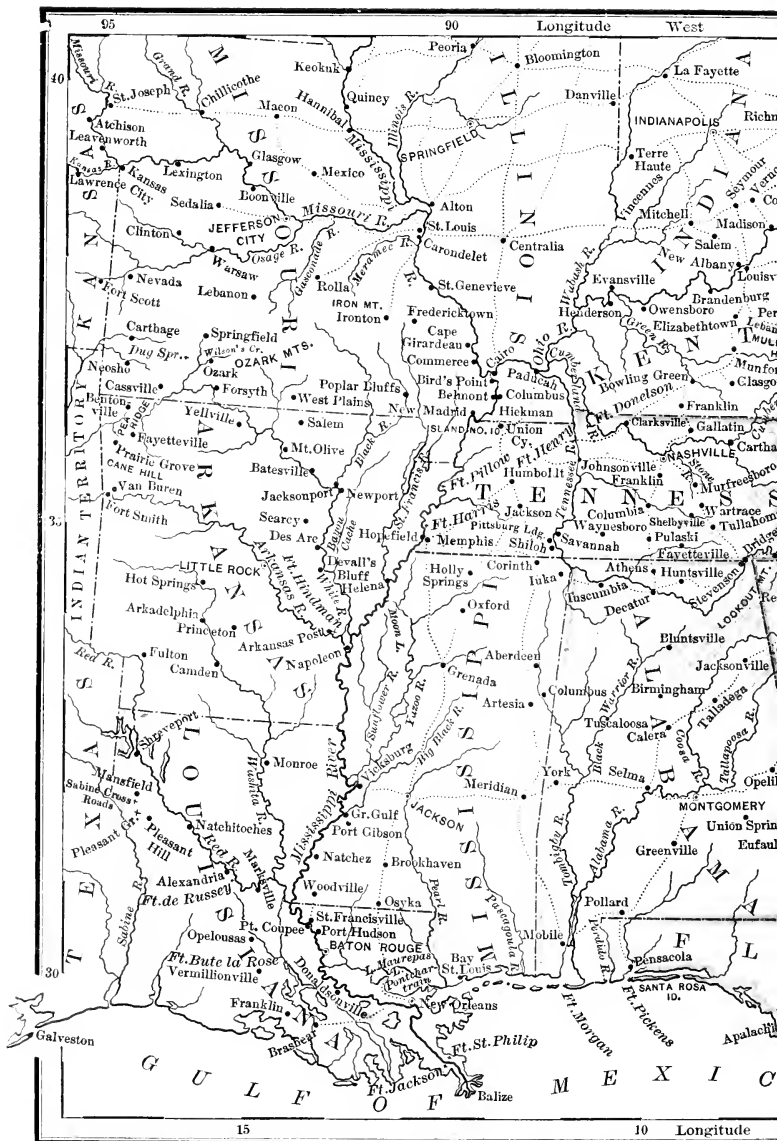
Arguments of those who believed slavery to be right.

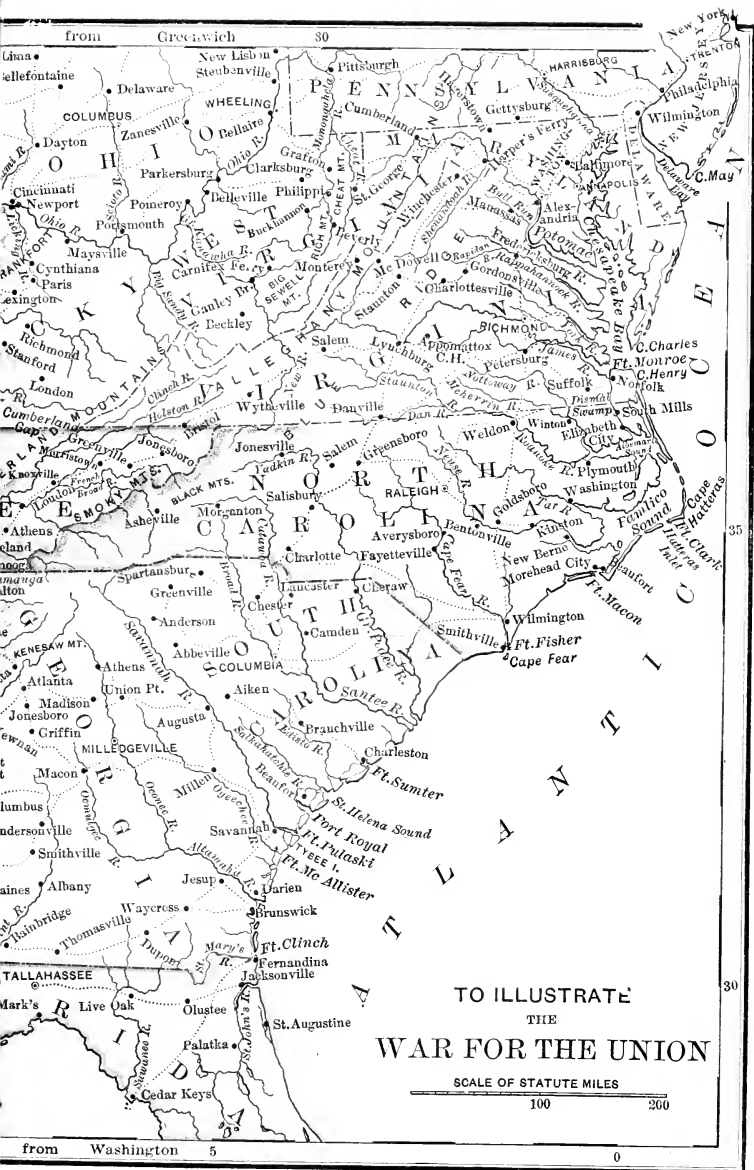
Arguments of those who believed slavery to be wrong.

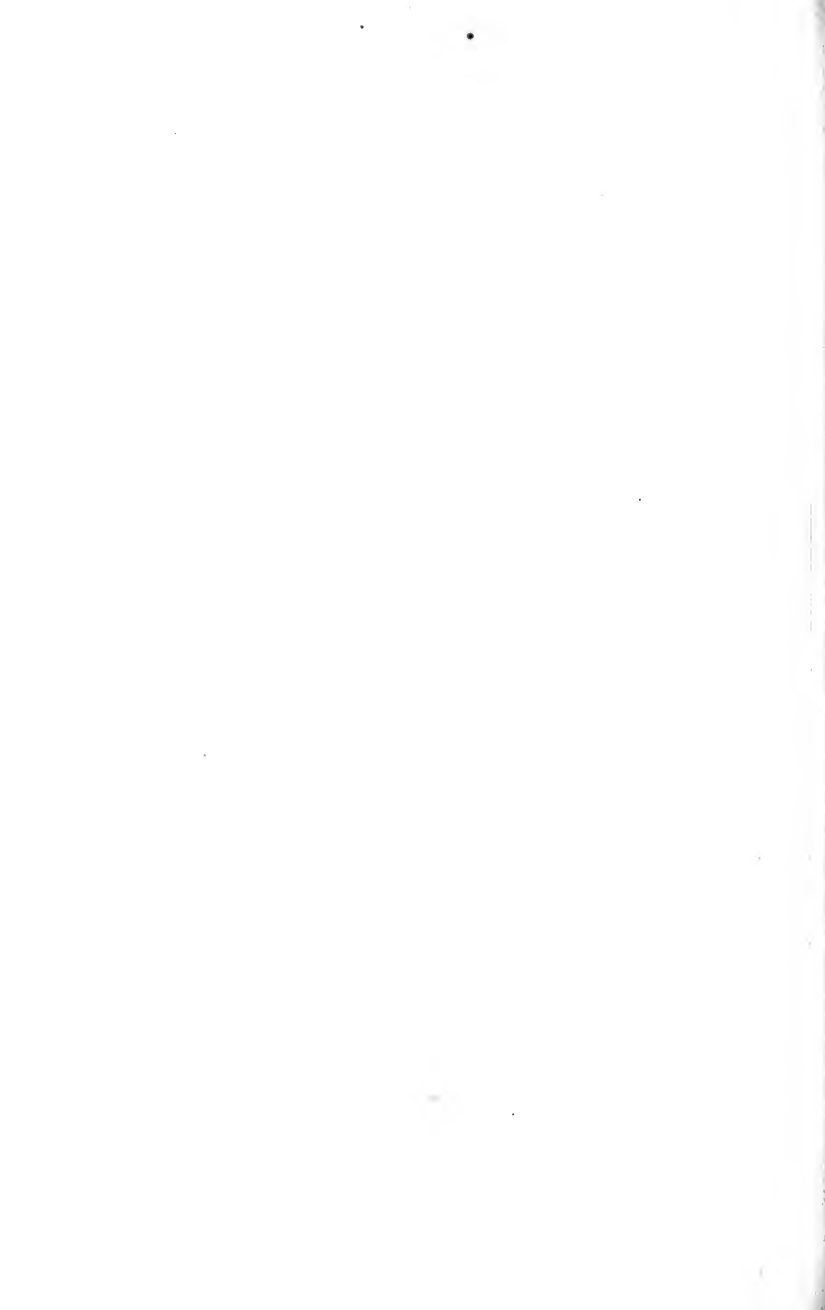
DEBATES :

Resolved, That a way out of the difficulty would have been the purchase and freeing of slaves by the appropriation of money raised by taxation from the whole country.

Resolved, That the States have no right to secede from the Union.







CHAPTER XXII.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.¹ I.

Cõn'fis-cāte. To take an enemy's goods for public use.	Rap-pǎ-han'nock. Rǎp-i-dǎn'.
Clǎn-dēs'tine. Secret.	Shen-ǎn-dō'-ah.
San Jacinto (sǎn já-sǐn'tō).	Antietam (an-tē'tǎm).

190. Relative Strength of the Two Sections. — The people of the North were an unmilitary people. They had a militia, but it was ill organized. The Mexican War had drawn few volunteers from this section, and the United States army was very small and imperfectly equipped. The early action of the Confederates also had weakened it. There was, however, a greater population to draw from than at the South. There was also a wider range of industry to supply the necessary funds to carry on the war. The South relied largely upon the need which England had of her cotton. Her young men had led lives more akin to a military life; and she reasoned that they could all fight, while the slaves stayed at home to support them.

President Lincoln's call for troops was met by a corresponding call from Jefferson Davis; and from North and South men hastened to the banks of the Potomac. Regiments were hurriedly equipped and sent forward. The first blood was shed in the streets of Baltimore, April 19, 1861, the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord, when Northern troops

¹ Perhaps the most compact and unpartisan account of the war from a military point of view is Colonel Dodge's *A Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*. It is fairly well furnished with maps. There is a whole library of books and articles that may be consulted.

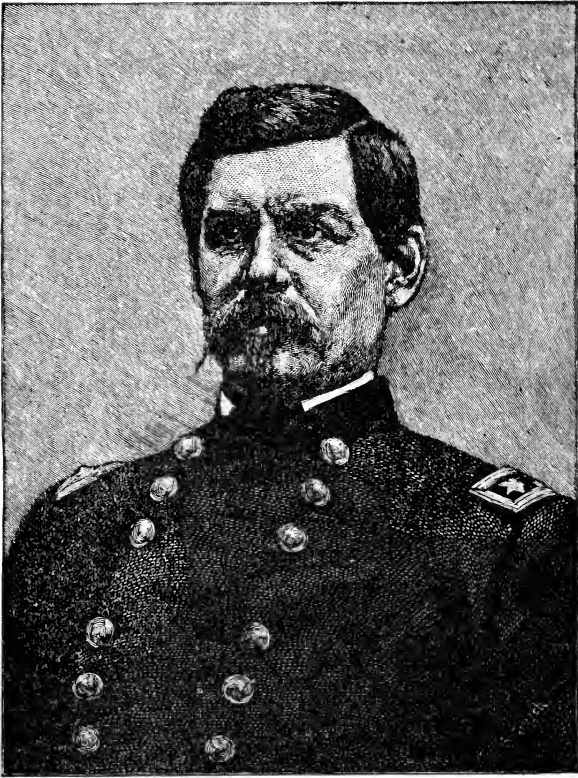
were attacked by a mob which opposed their passage through the city.¹

191. The Battle of Bull Run. — General Scott was the commander of the Union forces, and General J. E. Johnston of the Confederate forces. The first military movements were in the mountains of western Virginia, and the success of the Union army led people to fancy that there would be a quick restoration of the Union. The newspapers, and people generally, urged an immediate movement upon Richmond. Very few had any knowledge of the difficulties before them, and General Scott, pressed by public opinion, gave the order to advance. The result was the battle of Bull Run, July 21, in which the Union forces were defeated, and retreated in a panic upon Washington.

General McClellan in Command. — The disaster opened the eyes of people, and the country settled down into a more serious temper. Congress took measures to raise money for the army and navy. It called for five hundred thousand volunteers; it ordered a blockade of the Southern ports, and pledged itself to vote any amount of money and any number of men to maintain the Union. General Scott retired on account of his age and infirmity, and General George B. McClellan,² who had been prominent in the western Virginia

¹ Very early in the war volunteer organizations for the aid of the army and navy were formed all over the country. Depots of supplies were established and many hospitals set up independent of the army. Besides the local societies there were two very efficient national organizations, the United States Sanitary Commission and the United States Christian Commission. As one result of a humane character following upon the war, the science of medicine and surgery took from this time a great advance in the United States.

² George Brinton McClellan was born at Philadelphia, December 3, 1826. He was for two years a student in the University of Virginia, but in 1842 he became a cadet at West Point, where he was the youngest in his class. He made his mark, however, for, on graduating in 1846, he stood second in general rank, and first in engineering. He engaged in the Mexican War, and took part in the siege of Vera Cruz, along with Lee and Beauregard. He was brevetted captain, and after the war he was employed by the government in surveys beyond the Mississippi. When the Crimean War occurred, Captain



George Brinton McClellan.

McClellan was one of a commission sent by the United States government to examine the military systems of Europe, and to report on the better organization of the American army. He made an important report, on his return, and then retired from the service, and became president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He was living in Cincinnati when the war broke out, and the governor of Ohio at once commissioned him major general of the Ohio militia. He had most winning qualities and an unblemished character, so that he attached every one who came in contact with him. Near the close of the war, he became the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. He was elected governor of New Jersey in 1877, and died at Orange, in that State, October 29, 1885.

operations, was placed in command. He immediately set about organizing the Army of the Potomac, at Alexandria, in preparation for a second advance. The Confederacy also spent the summer and autumn of 1861 in organizing its Army of Northern Virginia, under General Beauregard.

192. The First Blow at Slavery. — Congress had passed an act confiscating property used in the insurrection, including any slaves employed in service hostile to the United States. General Fremont, who had been made commander of the forces in the

West, issued a proclamation declaring the slaves of
 Aug. 30, any person who had taken up arms against the Union
 1861. to be thereby freed from slavery. President Lincoln countermanded this order. He was unwilling to estrange those slaveholders, especially in Kentucky, who were still loyal to the Union. He was, besides, not ready, and he did not believe the people were ready, to regard the war for the Union as a war to put down slavery. Some of the Union commanders even went so far as to send back slaves who had left their masters and had come into the Union lines.¹

193. The South and Europe. — Congress had declared the Southern ports blockaded, but it could not at once bring together a navy large enough to keep vessels from entering or leaving those ports. The South not only sent out vessels laden with cotton to the West Indies and to Europe, but received in return military supplies of all kinds. Of course the great bulk of business between the North and the South had stopped, although much clandestine traffic and correspondence went on across the borders.

The South had never had manufactures to any extent, and

¹ One of the most ingenious solutions of the troublesome problem of dealing with slavery in the region occupied by troops was that devised by General B. F. Butler, who was in command at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, in the summer of 1861. Shortly after the secession of Virginia, some runaway slaves came into his camp, and the Virginian authorities demanded that they should be given up. Butler refused on the ground that they were "contraband of war." The term was caught up, and not only during the war, but for some time after, "contraband" was a familiar name for the negro.

had no variety of resources. Heretofore she had sold her cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar to the Northern States and Europe, and bought in return what she needed. It was to Europe now that she looked for help. The commercial and manufacturing countries of Europe saw the opportunity to increase their trade. English merchants, especially, were quick to take advantage of it, and the ports of English islands lying near the Southern States became at once very busy.

194. The Trent Affair and the Alabama. — England and France issued proclamations of neutrality, and the Confederacy was very desirous of being recognized by them as an independent power. Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell, formerly United States senators, were therefore sent by the Confederacy as commissioners to London and Paris. They made their way to Havana, and at that port embarked on the English mail steamer Trent. After the Trent had left the harbor, Captain Charles Wilkes, of the United States steamship San Jacinto, who had been watching for them, stopped the steamer and carried off the commissioners. Nov. 5,
1861.

This act caused great excitement in England, and for a while there was danger that the United States would be at war with England as well as with the Confederacy. Such an event would have been full of peril. Moreover, Captain Wilkes had gone beyond his authority. The government, therefore, without censuring him, admitted that he was in the wrong, and gave up the commissioners to England.

Great Britain did not recognize the independence of the Confederacy; but English shipbuilders and merchants built cruisers which were manned chiefly by British sailors, while commissioned by the Confederacy and commanded by Confederate officers. They often carried the British flag until they had come upon an unsuspecting vessel sailing from a Union port, when they made a prize of it. Great numbers of American ships were thus captured or destroyed. The English government shut its eyes when the Confederate cruisers used the British flag and sailed into and out of the British ports. It

was warned that one of these, the Alabama, which afterward did much mischief, had been built and equipped in Liverpool, and was about to sail. Everybody knew its purpose, but the government took no pains to stop the vessel.

Attitude of Great Britain.—The promptness with which Great Britain prepared for war at the time of the Trent affair; the repeated expression of sympathy with the Confederacy given by the ruling classes there; the indifference of the government, by which Confederate cruisers were allowed to be supplied and sent out of English ports to attack American vessels, — all these things served to estrange the United States from England. At the same time, not a few Englishmen had faith in the Union and advocated the unpopular Union cause. The cotton spinners of England, though they were brought to great distress by the closing of Southern ports, were very generally in sympathy with the Union. There were a few men of influence, also, who believed that the best hopes of man, both in England and in America, were bound up in the success of the Union. By speeches, by newspaper articles, and by other means, they aimed to keep Great Britain from recognizing the independence of the Confederacy.¹

195. Forts Henry and Donelson.—The people at the North had grown impatient over the long delay to make a forward movement, and in January, 1862, President Lincoln ordered a general advance of land and naval forces. The order was earliest obeyed at the West. The Confederates had built Fort Henry on the Tennessee and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, to prevent access by river into the State of Tennessee. The first attacks were made on these defenses. General Ulysses S. Grant² was in command of the land forces, and

¹ Among the strong supporters of the Union cause in Great Britain were John Bright, W. E. Forster, the Duke of Argyll, and Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown's School Days*. The Queen, also, strongly advised by Prince Albert, checked the rashness of the government.

² General Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Glenmont County, Ohio, April 27, 1822. His father, Jesse Root Grant, lived to a good old age, so that

Commodore Foote, of the gunboats, which undertook to reduce these works.

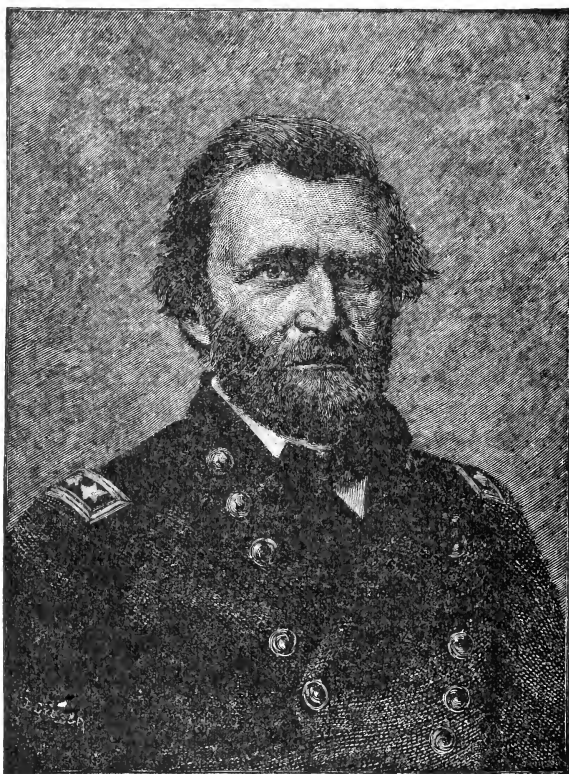
Fort Henry was first assailed and captured; the combined forces then appeared before Fort Donelson, and after a succession of hard fights forced the commander to ask for terms. General Grant replied: "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." This terse declaration gave General Grant distinction, and caused the country, eager to find a great military leader, to follow his career closely.

Feb. 6,
1862.

Feb. 16,
1862.

196. The Battle of Shiloh. — Fort Donelson surrendered; and the Confederate forces of the West, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, retired to Corinth, Mississippi. Here General Johnston received reinforcements, and made a brilliant attack upon General Grant's army, which was lying at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, on the Tennessee River. A terrible battle was fought, in which the Confederates were at first

he was able to follow the distinguished course of his son. The name given to the future general and President was Hiram Ulysses, and when Jesse Grant secured for his son an appointment to West Point, by some accident the papers accompanying the application bore the name Ulysses Sidney Grant. The only change which the student could obtain was from Sidney to Simpson, his mother's maiden name, and thenceforward he wrote his name Ulysses Simpson Grant. He did not take high rank at West Point, where he was graduated in 1843, but in the Mexican War, which followed shortly after, he served under both Taylor and Scott and took part in every battle except Buena Vista. He won the title of captain by his gallantry. He was married to Miss Julia Dent in 1848, and spent four years with his wife in garrison in Sackett's Harbor and Detroit. He was ordered to the Pacific coast in 1852, and, forced to go alone, he wearied of the monotony of army life in peace, resigned his commission, and took up the occupation of farmer near St. Louis. Afterward, to better his fortunes, he went to Galena and joined his brothers in the trade of their father, who was a tanner. It was while he was living in Galena that the war broke out, and Grant raised a company of volunteers. Men of military training were in demand as officers, and after being appointed colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois regiment, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and serving at first under Fremont, his military ability quickly pushed him to the front. His biography after this date belongs to general history, and will be found recorded in the text.



Ulysses Simpson Grant.

victorious, but General Johnston was killed. When General April 6, 7, Buell joined General Grant with fresh forces, the 1862. Union army attacked the Confederates and drove them back to Corinth.

197. The Mississippi and New Orleans.—The Confederates April 7, controlled the Mississippi by a series of fortified 1862. positions extending from Columbus, Kentucky, to the Delta. When Fort Donelson was captured Columbus

could no longer be held, and the Confederates retired to Island Number Ten. On the last day of the battle of Shiloh, this island was captured by Admiral Foote and General Pope. Two months later, Fort Pillow was abandoned by the Confederates, and after a daring attack by the river fleet, Memphis surrendered to the Union army.

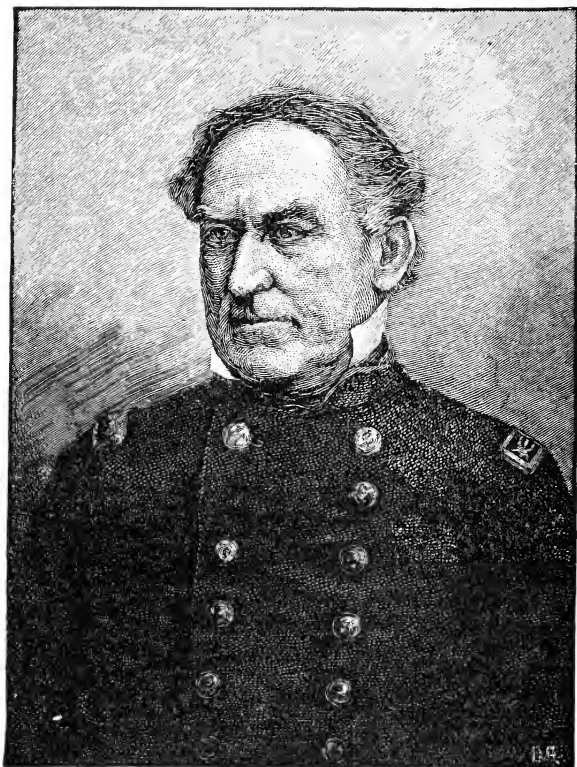
June 6,
1862.

Meanwhile a fleet and an army had been sent to attack New Orleans. The fleet under Commodore David G. Farragut¹ bombarded the forts at the entrance of the river, and passed them and the various obstructions which had been placed in the way. After running a gauntlet of rams and fire rafts, the fleet appeared before New Orleans, which surrendered, and was placed under control of General Benjamin F. Butler.

April 28,
1862.

198. The Monitor and the Merrimac.—In the East no such success had followed the Union arms. The Confederates had taken the Merrimac, a former frigate of the United States navy, which had fallen into their hands, and sheathed her with railroad iron, giving her also an iron prow. The curious monster, transformed thus into a ram, was ready for use, and came out of Gosport Navy Yard, accompanied by three gun-

¹ Farragut was the first admiral of the United States navy, that rank having been created during the war. He was born near Knoxville, Tennessee, July 5, 1801. He was but nine years old when he entered the navy, and was on the Essex in 1812 with Captain David Porter, who was his godfather. He spent his life at sea. In 1825 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, in 1841 he became commander, and in 1855 captain. He was at Norfolk when the war broke out, and as both by birth and marriage he was connected with the South, his neighbors expected him to throw in his lot with the Confederacy. But Farragut had followed the flag for fifty years, and indignantly refused the offers made him. He went to Washington and held himself ready for orders from his government. He became one of the great figures in the war, and a favorite picture was that which represented him in the tops of his vessel, with his glass, giving orders as his fleet passed the forts near New Orleans. When the war was over, he went to Europe in the Franklin and was everywhere received with high honors. His rugged, kindly nature and great rectitude justly made him a hero with the people. He died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 14, 1870. See his life by Captain Mahan.



David Glascoe Farragut.

boats, to attack the fleet which lay in Hampton Roads. The Merrimac destroyed the sloop of war Cumberland,¹ and compelled the frigate Congress to surrender, and with the gunboats scattered the rest of the United States fleet.

March 8,
1862.

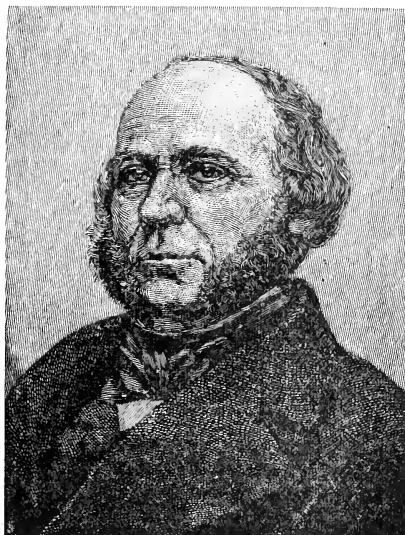
The greatest consternation followed at the North. It was supposed that every seaport would be at the mercy of the Merrimac. Suddenly the Monitor, a turreted ironclad

¹ See Longfellow's poem, "The Cumberland."

vessel just finished for the United States by Captain John Ericsson,¹ appeared on the scene and attacked the Merrimac. The Monitor was much the smaller vessel, but in the sharp engagement which followed, she showed herself a formidable antagonist, and the "cheese box," as she was called, compelled the Merrimac to retire to Gosport. These encounters were remarkable as the first great engagements between ironclads and wooden vessels and between two ironclads. The results caused a revolution in the navies of the world, for all the great powers began at once the construction of iron and steel clad vessels.

199. McClellan's Advance.—The day after the fight of the Monitor and Merrimac, General McClellan began to move

his forces against the enemy. He advanced on the way to Manassas, where the Confederate forces had been posted; but General Joseph E. Johnston, who was in command, had fallen

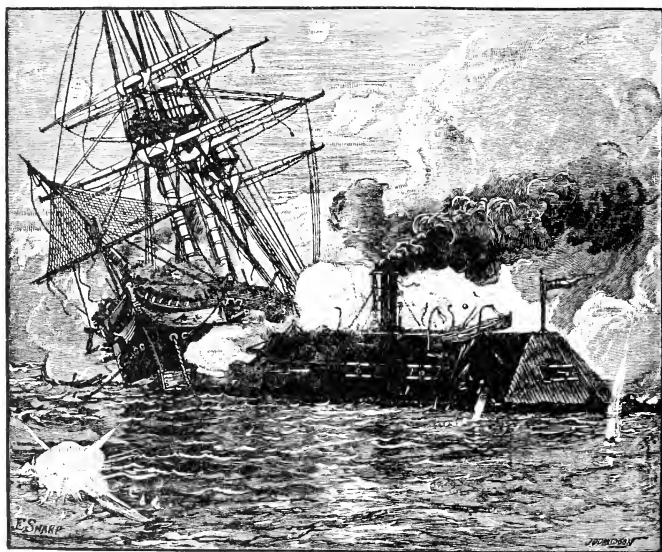


John Ericsson.

¹ John Ericsson was born in Sweden, July 31, 1803. He early showed great inventive skill and was employed as an engineer in the Swedish service. He resigned in 1826 and went to England to introduce an engine he had invented. In 1829 he won a prize for the best locomotive engine, and invented a hot-air engine. He came to New York in 1839 and built the United States steamer Princeton. He was busily engaged in perfecting his hot-air engine and applying it to the propulsion of vessels, and upon the outbreak of the war he put himself at the service of the United States government. After the war he constantly displayed his inventive genius in various constructions. He died March 8, 1889.

back toward Richmond. It was not McClellan's purpose to move upon Richmond across the country. He withdrew his forces, and went by water to Fortress Monroe, intending to advance up the peninsula. His march was arrested by the fortifications at Yorktown, behind which Johnston lay with his army.

McClellan laid siege to Yorktown; but Johnston only wished to gain time, and when McClellan was ready to at-



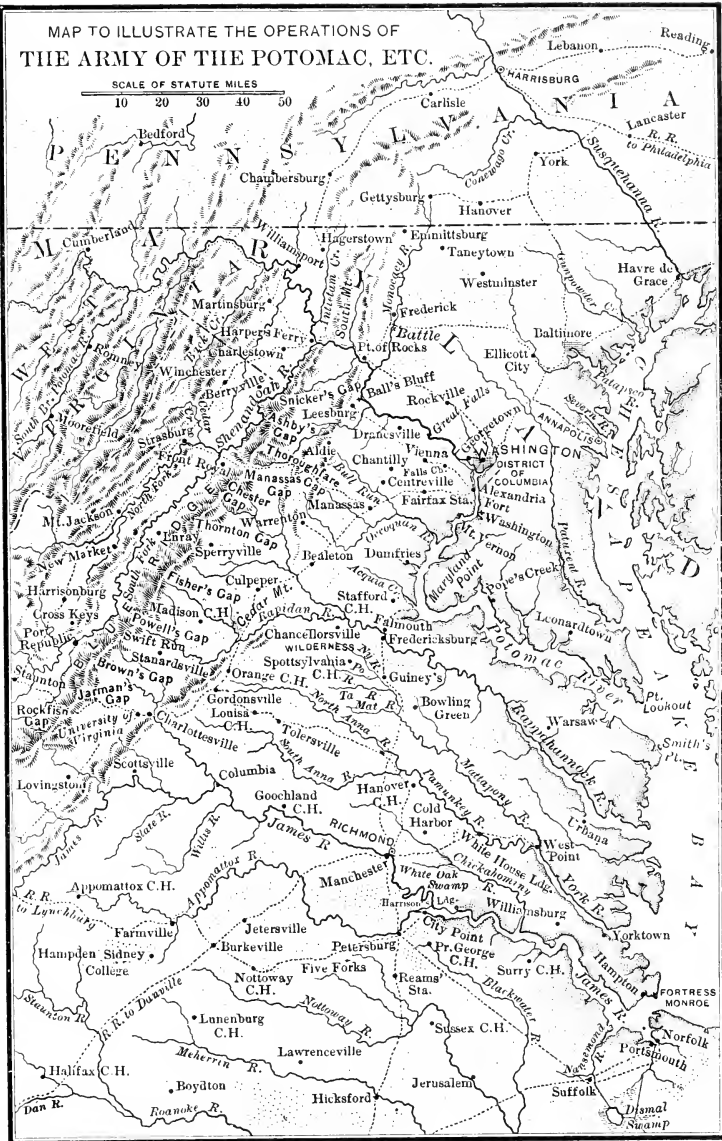
The Merrimac sinking the Cumberland.

tack the place, the Confederates retreated toward Richmond. McClellan followed, and the day after the evacuation of Yorktown, attacked the rear of Johnston's army at Williamsburg. Johnston rested his army behind the defenses of the Chickahominy, and on the last day of May attacked McClellan at Fair Oaks. McClellan renewed the battle on the day following, and forced the Confederates

May 5,
1862.

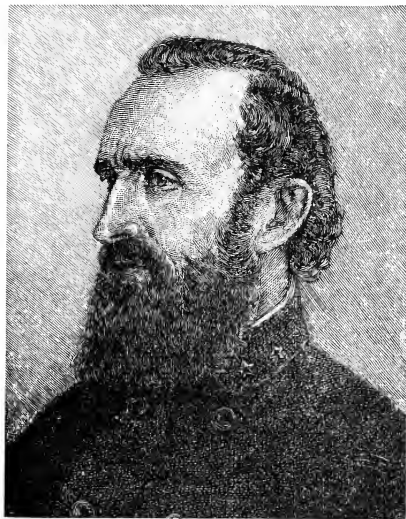
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE OPERATIONS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, ETC.

SCALE OF STATUTE MILES
10 20 30 40 50



to retire. Johnston was wounded, and was succeeded by General Robert E. Lee.

200. Confederate Victories.—While Johnston was holding McClellan in check, a brilliant Confederate commander, General T. J. Jackson,¹ was



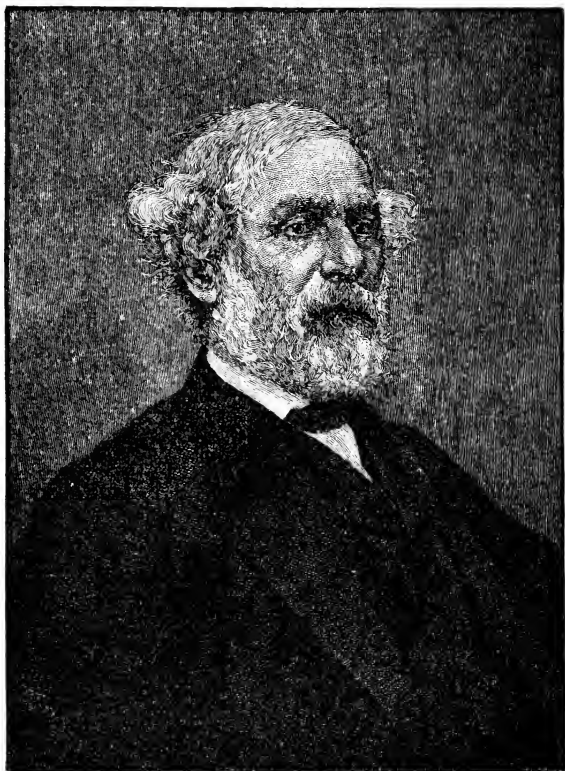
Stonewall Jackson.

making a series of rapid movements against divisions of the Union army which were in the valley of the Shenandoah. He was commonly known as Stonewall Jackson, because of the saying that his men would stand like a stone wall to meet the enemy's attack. In quick succession Jackson met and repulsed Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, and then joined Lee. The Confederate army now fell upon the Union

army, and in a series of battles at the end of June forced it back to Harrison's Landing, on the James River.

Lee and Jackson then turned their attention toward Washington, which was defended by an army under General Pope.

¹ Thomas Jonathan Jackson was born in Harrison County, Virginia, January 21, 1824. He was sprung from that Scotch-Irish stock to which our attention has often been drawn. He was educated at West Point, and served in the Mexican War. He then resigned his commission, and became professor of natural philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, and held the position till the breaking out of the war. As a young man, he was full of spirit and sport. In mature life, he made a profession of religion, and thenceforth was as unflinchingly devout and God-fearing as an old Scotch Covenanter. His life was one of profound religious conviction, and he won the passionate admiration of the men he commanded. See his life by his wife.

Robert Edward Lee.¹

¹ Robert Edward Lee was born at Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807. His father was a brilliant general in the war for independence, and was familiarly known as Light-Horse Harry Lee. The future Confederate general was graduated at West Point in 1829, and received a commission in the engineer corps. He distinguished himself in the Mexican War, and was brevetted colonel for his bravery in the siege of Chapultepec. In 1852 he was appointed superintendent of the military academy at West Point. In March, 1861, he was made colonel of the first regiment of cavalry. He hesitated over the course he should take, but when Virginia seceded, he made obedience to his State paramount, resigned his commission in the United States army, and was third of the first five generals appointed by the Confederacy. At the close of the war, he was elected president of Washington-Lee University, at Lexington, Virginia, and held the office till his death, October 12, 1870.

Pope's forces stretched along the Rappahannock and Rapidan to the first line of the Blue Ridge. General Banks held a position at the western end of the line, and was attacked by Jackson at Cedar Mountain, August 9. Lee followed close behind, and the two generals forced Banks back, and then attacked Pope. McClellan at Harrison's Landing was ^{Aug. 29, 30,} _{1862.} ordered to join Pope, and a portion of his forces came up in time to take part in the second battle of Manassas, fought near the old battlefield of Bull Run. Pope's army was put to rout.

Antietam and Fredericksburg.—Lee now led his victorious army across the upper Potomac and entered Maryland. McClellan, gathering the remnants of the two defeated armies, followed, and confronted the Confederates at Antietam Creek. Here a desperate struggle took place, September 17. It left each army exhausted, but the victory remained with the Unionists. The Confederates recrossed the Potomac, and retired up the Shenandoah Valley. McClellan's course had dissatisfied the administration, and his command was given ^{Dec. 13,} _{1862.} to General Ambrose E. Burnside, who attempted to move upon Richmond by way of Fredericksburg. Lee placed himself upon the hills behind the town, and when Burnside crossed the river, met his attack and completely defeated him.¹

¹ For details of these movements see *Antietam and Fredericksburg* by Francis Winthrop Palfrey.

QUESTIONS.

Compare the characteristics and resources of the two sections of the country in view of the war. Who were the commanders on the two sides? What brought on the battle of Bull Run? What was the result of the battle? What was the first direct blow struck at slavery? How did President Lincoln act? What attitude did the South take toward Europe? Narrate the incidents of the Trent affair. How did the British government act with regard to Confederate cruisers? What was the divided attitude of England toward America? Describe the taking of Forts Henry and Donelson. Describe the series of actions by which the

Mississippi came under Union control. Narrate the affair of the Monitor and the Merrimac. What was McClellan's campaign? Describe the successes won by Jackson and Lee.

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was Seward's prophecy as to the duration of the war? For what was General Sherman accused of madness? What was Seward's proposition to President Lincoln for the settlement of difficulties? What ports of Great Britain were especially busy during the blockade?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS:

The Baltimore Riot.

Boyhood days of General Grant.

John Ericsson the inventor.

The coming of the Monitor.

How the ironclad monitor revolutionized the navies of the world.

Horace Greeley.

An account of the capture of New Orleans.

DEBATES:

Resolved, That Fremont should have been supported by the President when he issued his proclamation.

Resolved, That the British government should have recognized the Southern Confederacy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION. II.

Chick-a-mau'ga.

Torpē'do. A machine, containing
gunpowder or other explosives,
intended to destroy ships.

Sic semper Tyrannis. A Latin
sentence, meaning "So be it ever
to tyrants."

Chat-ta-noo'ga.

201. The Financial Situation. — During the movements of the armies in 1862, the Congress of the United States was occupied in measures connected with the prosecution of the war. It also provided for the construction of a railway to the Pacific, and it passed the Homestead Bill, which assigned one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands to each family that should establish a home thereon.

Its most far-reaching action was in the provision for a uniform national currency. When the war began, the government borrowed large sums of money to defray expenses, and it continued to borrow as new demands arose. Since the Bank of the United States had failed to secure a renewal of its charter during Jackson's administration, the States had incorporated banks, and the bills of each local bank had been received at par only in its own neighborhood. At this time the banks in the several States could not obtain specie in exchange for their bills, except by paying a high price for it; the condition was similar to that which existed in the war for independence, for promises to pay are good only as they can be redeemed in the coin which is the standard of value throughout the civilized world; and the war in America caused the nations dealing with it to accept gold only. At the end of 1861, the banks were obliged to suspend specie payments, — that is, they no longer

gave specie in return for the promises to pay which they had issued.

In order to provide a currency for the people, Congress passed a bill, early in 1862, authorizing the issue of notes by the United States Treasury. From the green tint printed upon the back of the notes, they were popularly termed "green-backs"; and to insure their success, Congress declared that they were "legal tender for all debts public and private, except duties on imports and interest on the public debt." Early in 1863, Congress passed an act establishing national banks. By the national banking system, all bills issued by the national banks became current in every part of the country. These acts were largely the work of Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury.

202. The Emancipation Proclamation.—The prospect looked gloomy for the country as the year 1862 drew to a close. President Lincoln, who watched anxiously every movement, was convinced that the time had come when the Union could no longer hope to conquer a peace and at the same time spare the system of slavery, which every one saw was at the foundation of the Confederacy. He therefore announced, in September, that unless the seceding States returned to their allegiance within a hundred days, he should declare the slaves in those States to be free. It was a formal notice given out of respect to law; no one expected that it would be regarded by the South, which only grew more firm.

On the first day of January, 1863, in accordance with his notice, the President issued a Proclamation of Emancipation.¹ One of the first results of this act was the formation of regiments of negro soldiers as a settled policy. An attack made by one of these regiments, under Colonel Robert G. Shaw,² upon Fort Wagner,³ in Charleston harbor, though unsuccessful

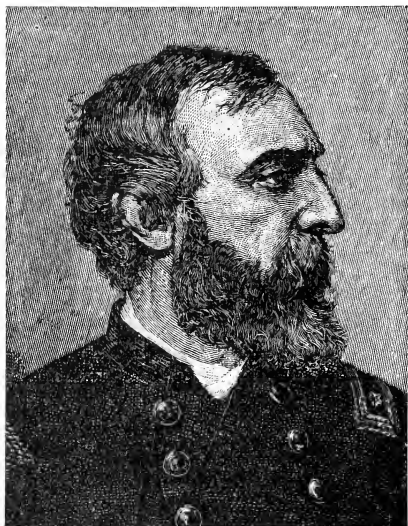
¹ Emerson's noble "Boston Hymn" was read at a meeting held in recognition of the proclamation.

² See Lowell's poem, "Memoriæ Positum."

³ So great has been the change in the harbor through the shifting of sand that there is now not a vestige of Fort Wagner; it is under water.

ful, was the occasion of so much bravery that the prejudice against negro soldiers disappeared, and great numbers were enlisted.¹

203. The Battle of Gettysburg. — General Joseph Hooker



George Gordon Meade.

had succeeded General Burnside, and attempted to lead the army again to Richmond, but was met by General

Lee at Chancellorsville, and
May 2, 3, 1863.

disastrously defeated. The Confederates suffered heavily at this time in the death of their famous leader, Stonewall Jackson. Lee followed up his success by crossing the Potomac above Harper's Ferry, and marching into Pennsylvania. The Union army, now under the command of General

George G. Meade,² hurried forward to meet him; for Lee was

¹ Not far from one hundred and eighty thousand negroes were in the service before the war closed.

² George Gordon Meade was born December 30, 1815, in Cadiz, Spain, where his father was, at the time, United States navy agent. His family was Pennsylvanian. He was educated at West Point, and after a year's service in the war against the Seminoles, he resigned his commission, and became a civil engineer. Six years later, in 1842, he reëntered the army as second lieutenant of topographical engineers, and served in the Mexican War. He was employed afterwards in a survey of the Great Lakes, and in August, 1861, became brigadier general of volunteers, in command of some Pennsylvania troops. After the war, he had command, successively, of important military districts, and at the time of his death, November 6, 1872, had his headquarters at Philadelphia. His greatest military services are treated in *Chancellorsville and Gettysburg*, by General Abner Doubleday.

concentrating his forces and threatening Baltimore and Washington. The two armies met at Gettysburg, and a battle followed which occupied the first three days of July, 1863. It was the most critical battle of the war. The Confederates were defeated, and retreated into Virginia. They never afterward came so near a final success, and the battle of Gettysburg is thus regarded as the turning point of the war. In this mighty conflict, the eighty thousand Union troops engaged lost more than one fourth of their number in killed, wounded, and missing; while the losses of the Confederate army of seventy-three thousand reached a total of twenty-five thousand.

204. Operations in the West. — In the West, Grant had made several ineffectual attempts to capture Vicksburg by approaching it from the North. In April, 1863, moving his army from Milliken's Bend to a point opposite Bruinsburg, he crossed the river, and after fighting several severe battles, received the surrender of Vicksburg on the fourth of July. Port Hudson, under siege at the same time, could no longer hold out; and the Mississippi, as President Lincoln said, "ran un-

July 8,
1863.

General Rosecrans,



in command of the Army of the Cumberland, which had been in quarters at Murfreesboro, moved southward upon the Confederate forces under General Bragg. At Chickamauga a great battle was fought in September, in which the Confederate army was victorious. It turned, and drove General Rosecrans to Chattanooga, and laid siege to the place. Rosecrans was re-

Sept. 19, 20,
1863.

enforced by General W. T. Sherman¹ with troops from Vicksburg, and by General Hooker with a portion of the Army of the Potomac. General Grant was put in command of all the armies of the West. The Confederates were attacked, defeated in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and driven southward.

205. Grant's Movement on Richmond.—The success of Grant at the West made him the chief figure in the war, and he was raised to the grade of lieutenant general, the highest in the army; the President, by the Constitution, being commander-in-chief. In the spring of 1864, Grant left Sherman at the head of the Western armies, and took up his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, in order to direct the operations in Virginia. For six weeks, in a series of rapid movements, General Grant attempted to get between Lee's army and Richmond. He did not succeed in this. He fought the terrible battle of the Wilderness, in which both sides lost heavily, though the advantage at the end of the battle remained with the Unionists. Other battles followed, but Grant could not force Lee's lines, and now laid siege to Richmond and Petersburg.

May 5, 6,
1864.

¹ As has already been mentioned, General Sherman came of a family which had done good service in Ohio. He was born in Lancaster in that State, February 8, 1820. His middle name was due to his father's great admiration for the Indian chief of that name. In 1836 Sherman entered West Point, and graduated sixth in a class of forty-three. He served against the Seminoles in Florida, and afterward was stationed at Fort Moultrie. In 1846 he was sent to California, and on his return to the East, four years later, he became commissary first at St. Louis and then at New Orleans. He resigned his commission in 1853, the better to support his family, and went to San Francisco as partner in a banking house. He was very active in that city as a member of the Vigilance Committee. He was for a short time in a law firm in Leavenworth, Kansas, and in 1859 was appointed superintendent of the Louisiana Military Academy. When Louisiana seceded he went to St. Louis and took the presidency of a street-railway company. Such was the varied experience before the war of one of the most brilliant of American generals. When Sumter was fired on, Sherman at once offered his services and was incessantly active throughout the war. Afterward he held command of one of the great military divisions, and he succeeded Grant in 1869 as general of the army. He died February 14, 1891. He wrote his own memoirs.



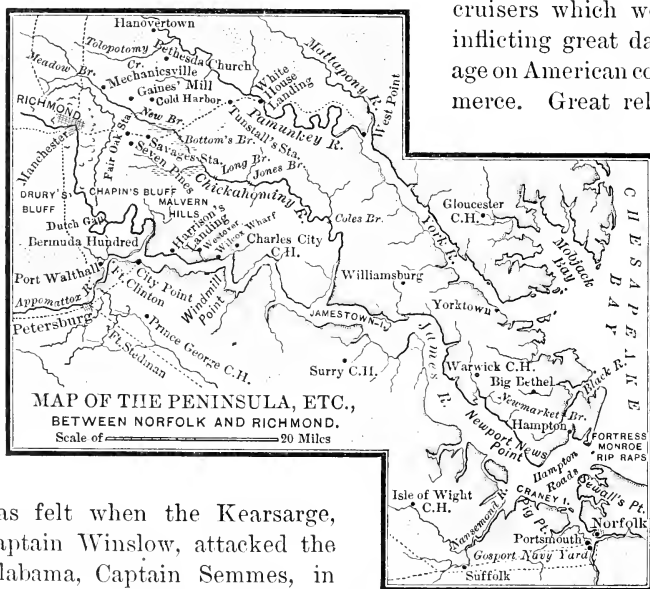
William Tecumseh Sherman.

The siege was begun early in June. In July, to loosen Grant's hold on Petersburg, General Lee sent General Early upon a dashing raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the hope even that he might get possession of Washington. The chief result was the burning of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and the capture of a quantity of supplies. When General Early retired up the Shenandoah Valley, he was followed by General Sheridan, who defeated him

July 30,
1864.

at Winchester, and drove him beyond Cedar Creek. General Early then turned upon his adversary, and recovered his position. Sheridan was absent when this battle was fought, but, getting intelligence of it, rode rapidly up the valley, rallied his men, and turned defeat into victory.¹

206. Naval Operations. — During the summer of 1864 the navy was attempting to blockade the Southern ports more effectually, and to meet the cruisers which were inflicting great damage on American commerce. Great relief



was felt when the Kearsarge, Captain Winslow, attacked the Alabama, Captain Semmes, in the English Channel,

June,
1864.

and sank her. Admiral Farragut, accompanied by land forces, captured the forts which commanded the entrance to Mobile Bay, and destroyed the Confederate iron-clad Tennessee. The Confederate ram Albemarle, also, which lay in Roanoke River, was blown up by a torpedo which was affixed to it by a courageous sailor, Lieutenant Cushing.

¹ Read T. Buchanan Read's spirited poem, "Sheridan's Ride."

207. The Western campaign in 1864 began at the same time as Grant's movements in Virginia. General Sherman began to move from Chattanooga toward Atlanta. Before him lay a Confederate army under command of Gen-
May 6,
1864.
eral Joseph E. Johnston; but Sherman, avoiding a direct engagement, gradually pressed his opponent back to the fortifications of Atlanta. The Confederate government removed General Johnston, and gave the command to General Hood, who at once made an attack upon Sherman. But Sherman changed his position, and took Atlanta, which Hood had left.

The two armies, had, as it were, exchanged places; and Hood, instead of assaulting the city, undertook to cut off Sherman from the railroads which brought supplies to his army. Sherman now detached a portion of his army, placed it under General George H. Thomas, and sent it against Hood, while he himself prepared to march southward through Georgia to the coast.

The Battle of Nashville.—Hood meanwhile aimed at the capture of Nashville. On the way he attacked General Schofield at Franklin, and suffered a loss, but he kept on, and laid siege to Nashville. While Hood was thus en-
Nov. 30,
1864.
gaged, General Thomas attacked him, and fought a battle which lasted for two days, and resulted in a severe defeat of the Confederates. Hood's army was unable to rally, and was scattered over the country. For the first time in the war a campaign had ended in the destruction of an army.

208. Sherman's March to the Sea.—Five days later, Sherman's army entered Savannah. He had started from Atlanta in the middle of November, cut loose from his base of supplies, and marched, without meeting any armed
Dec. 21,
1864.
opposition, to the seaboard. For a month, rumors only of his whereabouts reached the ears of the people at the North. The people at the South knew well where he was; for in his march to the sea his army and followers had left a broad path of desolation. At Savannah he was in communication with

the Union fleet, and sent word that the Confederacy was nothing but a shell, and that he was ready with his victorious army to march northward.¹

209. Sherman's March Northward. — Upon the first day of February, 1865, Sherman began his northward march. The military support of the Confederacy now rested on the army which Lee commanded within the intrenchments of Richmond and Petersburg, and on the remnant of the Western forces, with which General Johnston was trying to check Sherman's advance. On the 17th of February Sherman captured Columbia, South Carolina.

It was now impossible for the Confederates to hold Charleston, and they evacuated it therefore the same day. Fort Sumter had been pounded to ruins, the April before, by continual bombardment from batteries erected by the Union forces; but Charleston had not then been taken. As he moved northward, Sherman encountered Johnston's forces in North Carolina. The Union army, however, was superior in numbers; and when Sherman entered Goldsboro on the 23d of March, Johnston retired to Raleigh.

210. The Capture of Richmond. — Sherman pushed on after him; but events in Virginia were fast rendering a contest in North Carolina unnecessary. Sheridan had led a column of cavalry up the Shenandoah Valley, and thence down the James River. He did all the mischief he could on the way, and joined the main army in front of Petersburg. Grant had already ordered a forward movement against Lee, March 29,
1865. who made one desperate attempt to break the center of the Union lines at Fort Steadman, intending under cover of the attack to withdraw his forces. The effort failed.

Three days later, Sheridan attacked Lee at Five April 1,
1865. Forks, and was victorious. Grant at once carried his army within the lines of the Petersburg defenses. Lee retreated with the purpose of bringing his forces and Johnston's

¹ For a detailed account of this campaign see General J. D. Cox's *The March to the Sea: Franklin and Nashville*, in *Campaigns of the Civil War*.

together for a final stand, while the advance guard of the Union army entered Richmond, April 2. Jefferson Davis and other officers of the Confederate government had hastily fled; and Lee was using every effort to effect a junction with Johnston. But the Union army, elated and well supplied, bore down upon the hopeless retreating column. On the 9th of April General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House.

211. The End of the War. — The news was received with an outburst of joy at the North. President Lincoln had been reelected in 1864, and on the 4th of March, 1865, had begun his second term. At that time the end of the struggle was plainly near, and the President, in his Inaugural Address, had already given expression to the hope of the country that there would be a reconciliation between the two sections. "With malice toward none;" he said, "with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Immediately after the fall of Richmond, President Lincoln visited the Confederate capital, and walked with his little son along the desolate streets. He had been weighed down with anxiety and grief at the war, and looked with eagerness for the close. He appointed a day of thanksgiving for the end of the war. It was to be the day on which, just four years before, Fort Sumter had been attacked; and a party went to Charleston, where General Anderson again raised the flag over the ruined fort.

212. The Assassination of Lincoln. — In the midst of the rejoicing, a terrible event occurred. The President had gone to the theater in Washington on the evening of April 14, and was seated in a box overlooking the stage, when an assassin¹

¹ The assassin was an actor, Wilkes Booth, who was one of the Virginia soldiers who were on duty at the execution of John Brown. Booth was shot

shot him through the head, leaped over the railing upon the stage, and, shouting "*Sic semper Tyrannis*," rushed out of the building. At the same time another assassin attempted to murder Secretary Seward, who was ill at home, and wounded him seriously, but not fatally. There had been a plot, at this time of the downfall of the Confederacy, to pull down the leaders of the nation; but it was the plot of only a few men, who perished miserably.

The President lingered a few hours, but gave no sign of consciousness before his death. The assassin had shouted the motto on the Virginia coat-of-arms, but no word could have been worse suited to Abraham Lincoln than the word "tyrant." In the four years of his service he had shown himself to be the elder brother of the people, as Washington had been the father. The people had learned to love and trust him. He listened to every one, and was slow in making up his mind; but that was because he wished to be clearly in the right. No one who was in trouble came to him without receiving help if he could give it. He thought always of his country, and never of his own fame.¹

The joy of the nation was turned into deepest mourning. In every town almost every house hung out some sign of woe. The grief was scarcely lessened by the surrender, on the 26th of April, of General Johnston to General Sherman. On the 10th of May, Jefferson Davis was captured.² With its armies surrendered, and the head of its government in prison, the Confederacy came to an end.

213. The Soldiers and Sailors of the Union.—On the 22d and 23d of May, a grand review of the Armies of the Potomac,

a fortnight later near Bowling Green, Virginia, by Sergeant Boston Corbett, who, with a company of men, was hunting for him; and on the 7th of July three men and a woman were executed for complicity in the assassination.

¹ See Walt Whitman's moving dirge, "My Captain! O My Captain!"

² Jefferson Davis was captured near Irwinsville, Georgia; he was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe from 1865 to 1867; he received an amnesty from the government in 1868. He wrote his memoirs in the last years of his life, and died December 6, 1889.

Tennessee, and Georgia was held in Washington, and then in companies and singly the veterans of the war returned to their homes. On the 15th of April, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion had been organized by officers and ex-officers of the army, navy, and marine corps.¹ Membership descends to the eldest direct male lineal descendant. In the winter of 1865–1866 the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of soldiers who served in the war, was organized at Springfield, Illinois, and “posts” are established throughout the Northern States. At these posts, memories of the war are preserved, and care extended to those who are disabled and to their families. A national encampment is held annually.²

The care taken, by the nation, of these soldiers and their families has been unstinted. Homes for those without other homes have been established in different parts of the country; preference has been given to soldiers in the public service, and a comprehensive pension list is an annual charge upon the income of the nation.³

The respect paid to the memory of the dead is witnessed to by the yearly observance on the 30th of May of the custom of decorating the graves of soldiers;⁴ by the numberless monuments, including many noble buildings devoted to public uses, such as libraries, hospitals, and halls; and by the multitude of books and poems which record, for the inspiration of the young, the deeds of the brave soldiers and sailors.⁵

¹ In 1897 there were twenty commanderies, each representing a State, and one the District of Columbia, and a total membership of 8888.

² The number of posts, June 30, 1896, was 7302, with 340,610 members.

³ The number of pensioners upon the rolls, June 30, 1896, was 970,678. This number covers all previous wars, including even seven widows of Revolutionary soldiers. The payment of pensions at the same date amounted to \$137,466,805.03. Apparently the pension outlay touched the highest point in 1893, when it was \$158,155,342.51.

⁴ This custom originated with Southern women, and was taken up about 1868 by the Grand Army.

⁵ One of the most dignified of these memorials is the Memorial Hall of Harvard University, with its tablets and flags. Read Lowell's famous *Ode recited at the Harvard Commemoration*, July 21, 1865.

QUESTIONS.

What action did Congress take looking to the peaceful occupation of the country? What was the financial situation? What are "greenbacks"? When did President Lincoln issue the Emancipation Proclamation? What was the immediate effect? Narrate the incident which led up to the battle of Gettysburg. What was the significance of the battle? Describe the movements in the West in the summer of 1863. When was Grant made lieutenant general? Describe the operations in Virginia in the spring of 1864. What was Sheridan's ride? Where and by whom was the Alabama destroyed? Name the other naval successes. Describe the events which led up to Sherman's march to the sea. What was that march? Narrate Sherman's movements after leaving Savannah. Give the events connected with the fall of Richmond. What words did President Lincoln use in his second inaugural? Give the facts of the assassination of the President. What is the Loyal Legion? the Grand Army?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What was Pickett's charge? What and where was Libby Prison? Andersonville? How does the Loyal Legion compare with the order of the Cincinnati? Why does it fail to excite the alarm caused by the Revolutionary order? Name the soldiers' monuments you have seen.

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

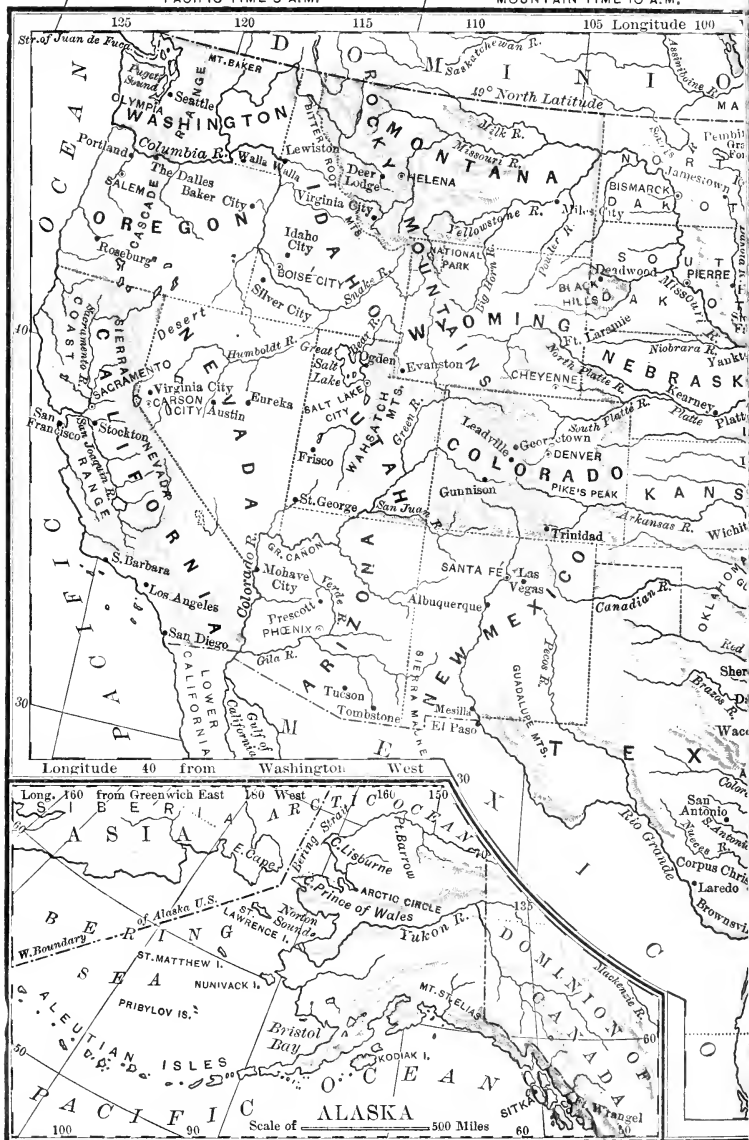
- The story of Barbara Frietchie.
- Memorial Day.
- Sherman's march through Georgia.
- The general of the war whom I most admire.
- A comparison of Washington and Lincoln.
- The Emancipation Proclamation and its results.
- Life of a soldier in the war ; his pay, rations, etc.

DEBATES :

- Resolved*, That Jefferson Davis should have been tried for treason.
- Resolved*, That the victories of peace surpass the glories of the battlefield.

PACIFIC TIME 9 A.M.

MOUNTAIN TIME 10 A.M.



EASTERN TIME 12 NOON





CHAPTER XXIV.

RECONSTRUCTION.

214. The Cost of the War. — General Grant, when arranging with General Lee the terms upon which the Confederate army should surrender, proposed that the soldiers who had horses should retain them. He said the men would “need them for the spring plowing and farm work.” The first wish of those who had been most prominent in putting down the Confederacy was that the Union should be restored as quickly as possible to its former state, with the exception of slavery. They desired that the armies should be disbanded, and that the men who had been withdrawn from their homes and industry should return to their old life.

For four years a large part of the strength of the nation had gone into fighting, and the war had caused a terrible loss of life and property. Probably a million Americans perished in battle, or from wounds and disease induced by the war. It has been estimated that the war for the Union, exclusive of pensions, cost the nation not less than ten thousand million dollars, and every year still sees vast sums expended on pensions. We rightly measure the value of a possession by what it has cost us, and the nation preserved at such a cost of men and money becomes of precious worth.

215. The Return of the States into the Union. — With the close of the war the government which had been organized as the Confederate States of America came to an end, but the separate States which had formed the Confederacy, each had its government. Since the people of these States, however, had originally claimed the right of a State to secede from the Union, and

had fought for that right, they could not now, when the fight had gone against them, come back into the Union by their own will. That would have established the right which they failed to establish by war. The right of a State to secede had been submitted to the arbitrament of war, and the decision had been given in the negative.

On the other hand, President Lincoln and those who held with him were very eager to restore the Union in the seceding States as fast as possible. Accordingly, proclamation was made in December, 1863, that in any such State, as soon as one tenth of the voters of 1860 should have taken an oath to "support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and the Union of the States thereunder," and furthermore, should support the acts of Congress made during the war with reference to slavery, the President would recognize the State government they set up. Arkansas had already acted on this plan, and in 1864, Mr. Lincoln recognized similar governments in Louisiana and Tennessee. But his proclamation governed the Executive only; Congress would not yet receive representatives from these States.

216. Legislation in the Interest of the Freedmen. — Upon the death of Lincoln, Andrew Johnson¹ of Tennessee, who had been elected Vice President, became President. He had been selected by the Republican party as representing the Union men of the South. He was not, however, in full sympathy with the Republicans; and it soon became evident that there was a breach between the President and Congress, which constantly widened. The war had been fought to preserve the

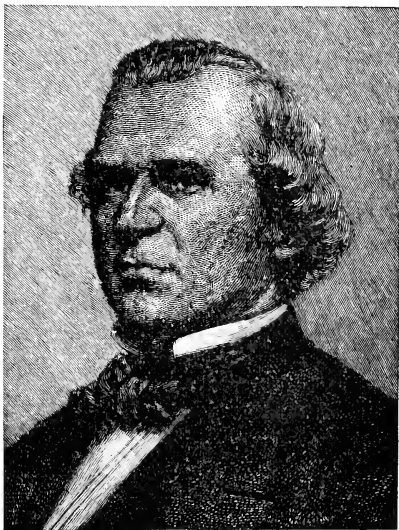
¹ Andrew Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808. So poor was he in his youth and so humble his surroundings that not till he was serving an apprenticeship to a tailor did he learn to read, and his wife, after he was married, taught him to write and cipher. But he had a strong mind and was active in political affairs. He settled in Greenville, Tennessee, and organized a workingman's party. He held local office, was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1843 was sent to Congress. He served in the House of Representatives for ten years. In 1855 he was elected governor of Tennessee, and in 1857 he became United States senator. He was again elected senator in January, 1875, but died July 31 of the same year.

Union, but it had also, necessarily, been a war to extinguish the system of slavery. There was, therefore, a strong sentiment at the North against any restoration of the Union which should leave the blacks in the power of their former masters. A State in the Union could pass many laws which would practically prevent the freedmen from having any voice in the government or from securing full protection under the law.

Before the war was over and before any State had been received back, Congress had passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, forever forbidding slavery in the land. A

February,
1865.

year later it passed a bill creating what was known as the Freedmen's Bureau, a department of the government intended to provide for the needs of the blacks, who, it was said, were the wards of the nation. The President returned the bill



Andrew Johnson.

to Congress without his signature, on the ground that it was an interference with the rights of the States in which the freedmen lived. When the President refuses to sign a bill, he is said to veto¹ it, and the bill thus vetoed does not become a law unless, on its return to Congress, two thirds of the members of each House vote to pass it in spite of the President's veto. The Freedmen's Bureau Bill was thus passed over the President's veto.

February,
1866.

¹ From the Latin word *veto*, I forbid.

Civil Rights Bill. — Congress then passed a Civil Rights Bill, by which freedmen were made citizens of the United States. United States officers were instructed to protect them in the exercise of their rights in the courts. **April, 1866.** The President vetoed this bill also, but Congress passed it over the veto. To make the bill stronger, Congress adopted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and submitted it to the States, which ratified it. Later still the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, by which the right to vote was given to the freedmen. By these amendments the people gave to the former slaves all the legal rights which white citizens held.

The President disapproved of these measures, and there was now open hostility between him and Congress. Congress, growing more positive, passed over the President's veto what is known as the Tenure of Office Bill. By this bill the President could not remove any public officer without the consent of the Senate. On the same day a bill was passed, also over **March 2, 1867.** the President's veto, by which Congress provided for a system of government over the States which had formed the Confederacy. It was, in effect, a military government. Each State was to remain under it until it ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and formed a constitution which secured the rights of the freedmen.

217. The practical working of this plan was not satisfactory. It was not in accordance with the spirit of American local self-government. The most influential men at the South took no part in this reconstruction. They had been officers in the Confederacy, and could not or would not take the oath of allegiance to the United States. Many refused to act, because they did not believe they were free to obey their convictions. They were, they said, under military government. When the Confederacy broke up, many men who had been prominent in it left the country to seek their fortune in Europe or South America. Families were scattered, great estates were no longer cultivated, and many who had lived in luxury were

impoverished. With no slaves, they no longer had the same means of subsistence.

As a rule, the freedmen knew little about the meaning of a vote. They had come out of slavery, which never trained them to be citizens. Many were anxious to learn to read and write; many were eager to earn their living; but great multitudes were ignorant, bewildered, and easily influenced.

New People in the South. — At the same time many persons from the North made their way into the ruined States. Some were soldiers who had been attracted during the war by the rich soil of the country, and wished to make their homes there. But the conditions were not favorable. The wounds made by the war were too fresh, and the people of the two parts of the country were not yet ready to be good neighbors. The best work in peacemaking was done by those who assisted in reviving the agricultural industries of the South, and in developing the great natural resources; and by the noble men and women who devoted themselves to the education of the blacks.¹

The most mischievous men who entered the South at this time were adventurers, who thought it an excellent opportunity to make their fortunes and acquire political power. They easily obtained an influence over the freedmen. They were active, and the native Southern whites kept aloof from politics. The government of the States was thus often brought into disrepute. Men exercised official power who had no regard for the welfare of the State, but simply looked out for their own advantage. The conduct of the State governments brought such evils that the Southern whites began to combine to recover political power. A period almost of anarchy followed, in which each side used every means to obtain and keep the

¹ No history of this period should overlook the work done by such men as General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who had served honorably in the war, and on its close devoted himself with untiring zeal to the training of the negro, and afterward the Indian, in the industrial and normal school at Hampton, Virginia. The example there set bore fruit in the remarkable work of the same kind carried on at Tuskegee, Alabama, by Booker T. Washington, himself of negro blood.

supremacy. Gradually, however, the political authority returned to the class which had held it before the war.

218. The Impeachment of the President.—The quarrel between Congress and the President ended at last in the impeachment of the President by the House of Representatives. He was tried before the Senate, as the Constitution provides. The charges brought against him were mainly on account of offenses which he was said to have committed against the Tenure of Office Act. The chief charge was that he had removed the Secretary of War, E. M. Stanton, without the consent of the Senate. The trial occurred near the close of Mr. Johnson's term of office.

The party which had elected him was now thoroughly opposed to him, and the impeachment showed its anger. The trial lasted two months, and then was abandoned after a vote had been taken which showed that it was impossible to secure conviction. The most important effects of this four years' quarrel were two: first, while the South was left in confusion, people became accustomed to seeing affairs which formerly were managed by the States, now controlled by Congress; secondly, the authority of Congress was increased, while that of the President was diminished.

219. Grant's Administration.—General Grant was now the most conspicuous man in the country. He was the general who had achieved the final victory in the war, and he had shown firmness and prudence when President Johnson had

made him Secretary of War, after removing Mr. Stanton. He was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican party, and elected by a large majority. President Grant held the office eight years. At his first election seven of the Southern States had complied with the acts of Congress, and had been readmitted into the Union. By January 30, 1871, the last of the eleven States which had seceded was again represented in Congress.

220. Industrial Reconstruction.—While the country was engaged thus in readjusting its political relations the real recon-

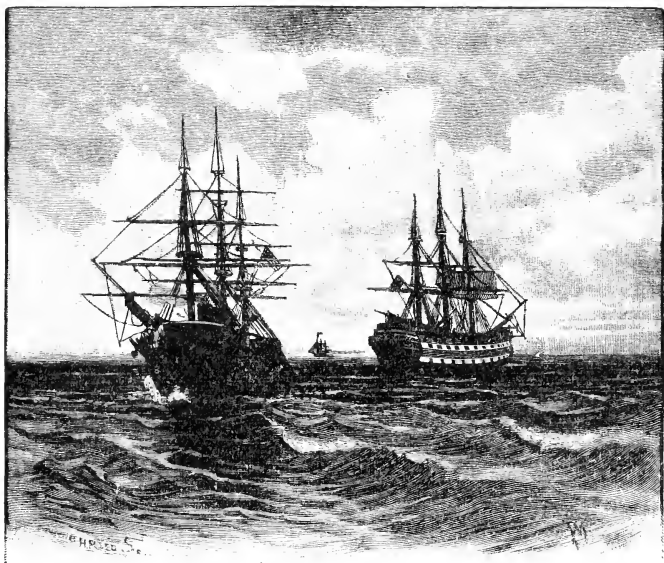
struction was going on silently through the industrial activity of all parts of the Union. Besides West Virginia, another State was added to the Union during the war, — Nevada in 1864. The first added after the war was Nebraska in 1867. A great increase of territory was effected in the same year by the purchase of Alaska from Russia, for a little more than seven million dollars.

In 1869 the first of the great railways was finished which connected the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and opened the far Western country to travel and settlement. One effect of the railway was to bring many persons into Utah who were not identified with the Mormon church. They became permanent citizens of the territory, were engaged in opening up the rich silver mines which abound in the mountains of that region, and contributed largely to the development of the natural resources of the territory.

The Atlantic Cable and Increased Immigration. — In 1866, a previous attempt in 1858 having failed, a telegraphic cable was laid upon the bed of the Atlantic between America and Europe. This cable was followed by others; but a closer connection between the United States and the Old World than any effected by the telegraph is formed by the constant passage back and forth of people. With the close of the war, immigration, which had suffered a check, increased rapidly. From 1871 to 1880 nearly three millions, and from 1881 to 1890, more than five millions, of people migrated to the United States. During the decade ending in 1900, nearly four millions of immigrants came to swell the population of the country. Since the year 1789, when the Constitution went into effect, the United States has absorbed an alien population of over twenty millions.¹

221. International Relations. — In 1862 the Emperor of France, Napoleon III., attempted to establish in Mexico a foreign government under Maximilian, an Austrian archduke. He sent

¹ The chief nationalities from which this mighty host has come are British, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Hungarian, and Russian.



Laying the First Atlantic Cable.

a French army for the purpose of supporting him. The United States protested against this interference of a European power in American affairs, and immediately after the war, began to mass troops on the Mexican border. Thereupon Napoleon

1867. abandoned his attempt, but Maximilian remained, was seized by the Mexicans, and executed. The incident was held to be significant of the force of the Monroe Doctrine.

The Treaty of Washington. — But a more notable exhibition of international relations was in the treaty of Washington, concluded with Great Britain, May 5, 1871. This important document marked a great advance in the position of the United States among the nations of the world, and bound more securely together the two great English-speaking peoples. The fact of its being signed in the United States was in itself a witness to the dignity of the nation, but most noticeable was

the substitution of friendly arbitration of great disputes for a settlement by war.

The United States thought it had just cause against Great Britain for the injury done its shipping during the war by Confederate cruisers fitted out in the ports of Great Britain. The most mischievous of these cruisers was the *Alabama*, and by the treaty the "*Alabama claims*," as they were called, were submitted to a board of commissioners from five friendly nations, which met at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1872, and agreed that Great Britain should pay the United States the sum of fifteen and a half million dollars. Great Britain honorably and promptly paid the sum. The treaty of Washington also made provision for the final settlement of all disputes concerning boundaries between the United States and Great Britain.¹

222. Discovery of Petroleum. — During the period of reconstruction, the country was developing rapidly in all forms of industry, but one new and very important source of wealth was added. Before 1859, there had been factories for distilling oil from coal, but in August of that year an artesian well was sunk near Titusville, Pennsylvania, and when it reached the depth of seventy feet, natural oil began to rise to the surface and to flow with great rapidity. Artificial distillation of oil now ceased, when the great reservoir of oil beneath the surface could thus be tapped. After the war, there was a very great increase of borings, not only in Pennsylvania, but in States farther west, until petroleum became a great commercial commodity, especially in its refined form, known as kerosene.

223. The Chicago Fire. — The same period witnessed a terrible disaster in a great fire at Chicago, when nearly three and a third square miles of the city were burned over, nearly one hundred thousand persons made homeless, and nearly three hundred millions of property was lost. But

October 8,
1871.

¹ The effect of the arbitration at Geneva upon international relations has been very marked. A writer in *The International Journal of Ethics* for October, 1896, points out sixteen cases of such arbitration between 1881 and 1893.

the sympathy of the rest of the country and the energy and hope of the people of Chicago quickly repaired the waste and started the city upon a wonderful period of growth.

224. Important Acts of Congress. — There were also during this period certain political acts which have significance in their bearing on current public affairs. In 1867, the order of Grangers or Patrons of Husbandry was founded in Washington, with the chief purpose of agitating to secure better transportation and lower freight rates. The number of members increased so rapidly that in 1875 they numbered a million and a half, chiefly in the Western and Southern States. The agitation thus begun was one of the causes which led to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887.

Another act of Congress, dating from the time of the war, gave grants of public land to the several States and territories which should provide colleges for instruction in branches of learning bearing on agriculture and the mechanic arts. Twenty-five years later by an additional act provision was made by Congress for yearly appropriation to the several States for scientific investigation.

July 2,
1862.

March 2,
1887.

Civil Service Reform. — The most far-reaching political change introduced in this period was the reform of the civil service. In 1865, and for six successive years, Mr. Jenckes, a representative from Rhode Island, introduced a bill in the House to regulate the civil service of the United States. In 1871, a civil service commission was appointed to draw up rules for such regulation; the popular demand for this reform was recognized by Congress in 1883 by the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Bill. The nation, the several States, and many of the cities and towns have come slowly to recognize the principle that the civil service, like the army and navy, should be administered without regard to the party preference of those employed.

QUESTIONS.

What course did General Grant pursue to make peace at once effective? What was the cost of the war in men and money? What question was settled by the war? What steps did Lincoln take to recover the States? How were the freedmen regarded? What was the Thirteenth Amendment? the Fourteenth? the Fifteenth? Narrate the steps by which Congress carried its plan of reconstruction as against the President. What stood in the way of genuine reconstruction? What discordant element entered Southern life? Narrate the incidents of the impeachment of the President. What was the progress of reunion under Grant's administration? Note some of the signs of the strengthening of the Union in new States; in the building of railways; in immigration. What attempt was made by the French to occupy Mexico? What was the treaty of Washington? How were the Alabama claims adjusted? What new source of wealth was discovered? What disaster befell Chicago? Explain the name Grangers. What acts of Congress were designed to aid education? Narrate the beginnings of Civil Service Reform.

SEARCH QUESTION.

What were the indirect damages claimed in the Alabama case?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITIONS :

The purchase of Alaska.

How Cyrus Field laid the cable.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That the impeachment of Andrew Johnson was uncalled for.

Resolved, That the Civil Service should be divorced from politics.

Resolved, That interference by the United States in 1867 in Mexican affairs was unjustifiable.

Resolved, That arbitration should be employed to settle all disputes between nations.

CHAPTER XXV.

AFTER THE CENTENNIAL YEAR.

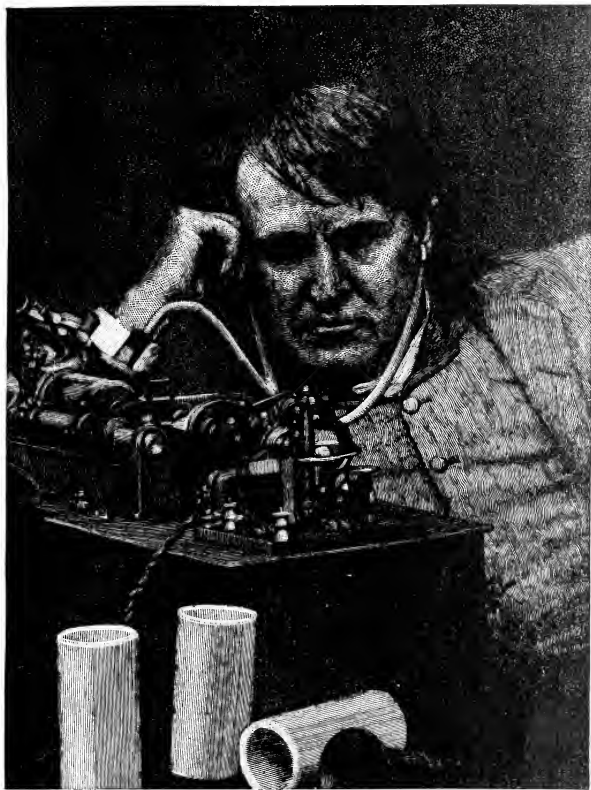
Sioux (sōō). Bartholdi (bar-tōl'di). Oklahoma (ōk-lá-hō'-má).

225. The Centennial of the Union. — History is an account of what has happened in former days, so written as to show not only what truly happened, but if possible how and why it happened, and what followed in consequence. But in the history of a great nation it is not easy to understand the full meaning of what has happened recently. A good place at which to stop our history is the close of the first century of the republic. After that, history becomes annals; that is, we relate year by year the important events, which some day will take their place and be fully explained in history.

In 1876, a hundred years had passed since the stirring days when the English colonies in America had maintained their rights under English law, and had finally declared and achieved their independence. Each of the steps toward independence was celebrated when its hundredth anniversary came round. The spilling of the tea in Boston harbor, the fights at Lexington and Concord, the battle of Bunker Hill, the assumption by Washington of the command of the American army, and other important events were recalled and celebrated. The centennial year of independence was made memorable by a great international exhibition at Philadelphia. A new State, also, Colorado,¹ was added to the Union in 1876.

The year will be remembered also as the one in which the first public exhibition was made of the telephone, by the in-

¹ A Spanish name given to the Colorado River because of its deep color.



Thomas Alva Edison.¹

¹ Thomas Alva Edison was born at Milan, Ohio, February 11, 1847, but the family soon after moved to Port Huron, Michigan. He had to earn his living from early boyhood, and was a train boy on a railroad. A station master, whose child's life Edison had saved, taught the boy telegraphy, and in this art Edison quickly became an expert. In 1868 he chanced to be in New York when the indicator of a gold and stock company was broken, and he not only repaired it, but in doing so struck out a new invention, the printing telegraph. He sold his invention in 1876 and established himself at Menlo Park, New Jersey, where he built workshops for carrying out experiments in the application of electricity. It would take a very long paragraph even to name the devices and inventions which have followed, the most far-reaching being, perhaps, his system of electric lighting, his microphone, and the phonograph.

ventor whose name is most closely identified with it, Alexander Graham Bell. During the last quarter of the
May 10, nineteenth century marvelous progress was made in
1876. the application of electricity to lighting, transportation, and the various uses of life. Many of the most important of these appliances were the work of American electricians, as Bell, Brush, Dolbear, Edison, Farmer, and Gray.

226. The Sioux War.—While the Union, at peace with foreign nations, was celebrating its independence of Europe, a war broke out on the Western frontier. The Indians had risen, and the nation was reminded of that dispute with the natives of the soil which had begun with the first settlement of the country and had never been long at rest. The Sioux Indians had ceded to the United States a large tract of country in what was formerly Dakota Territory. They had reserved to themselves the district known as the Black Hills; but when it was rumored that gold had been found on their reservation, white men began to push in, regardless of the promise which the government had made to the Indians.

Much of the discontent of the Indians had been caused by the swindling they had suffered at the hands of agents. What was known as the Indian ring, a corrupt body of men, had acquired control of the distribution of the goods which the government, by its agreement, bestowed on the Indians in the several reservations. The Sioux are a warlike tribe, and they retaliated by attacking the frontier settlements in Montana and Wyoming. United States troops were sent out against them, but met at first with terrible disaster. General Custer,¹ with about

¹ George Armstrong Custer, a brilliant cavalry officer, was born at New Rumley, Ohio, December 5, 1839. He graduated at West Point, in 1861, and at once engaged in active service, being in the Bull Run battle. Throughout the war, it is said, he never lost a gun or a flag, and captured more guns, flags, and prisoners than any other officer not commanding an army. After the war he served on the frontier, and it was largely his reports of the fertility and mineral wealth of the Black Hills that stimulated the movement of population in that direction. See Longfellow's poem, "The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face."

two hundred and fifty soldiers, was surprised, and the entire force massacred. The war lasted into the winter of June 25, 1877, when the Sioux, with their chiefs, Sitting Bull 1876. and Crazy Horse, went across the border into British territory.

227. The Electoral Commission. — The changes in the South, and the dissatisfaction of many in the North with the rule of the Republican managers, were seen in the election of 1876. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, was the candidate of the Republican party, and Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, of the Democratic party. So close was the vote that the

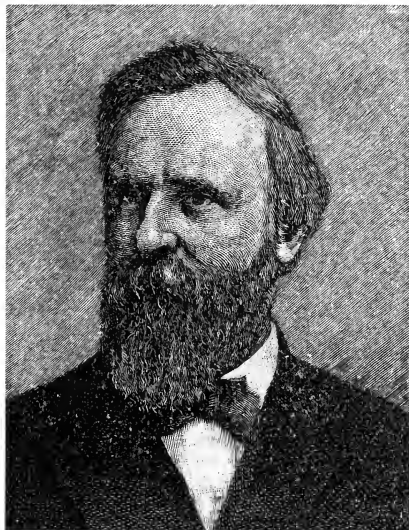


George Armstrong Custer.

decision of the election turned upon the way in which the votes of Louisiana, Florida, and Oregon should be counted. Both parties declared that they had carried these States; but there had been so much political management to secure the votes that each party accused the other of dishonesty.

It was finally agreed by Congress to refer the dispute to an Electoral Commission, composed of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. The result was the election of Mr. Hayes, and the end of the dispute was received with a sense of relief by the country. People were most concerned, not that Mr. Hayes or Mr. Tilden should be President, but that there should be a fair election.

One of the first acts of President Hayes's administration was to put an end to all supervision of elections at the South by United States troops. With the withdrawal of these troops disappeared the last sign of any distinction in the government



Rutherford Birchard Hayes.¹

between the States which had seceded in 1861 and those which had remained loyal.

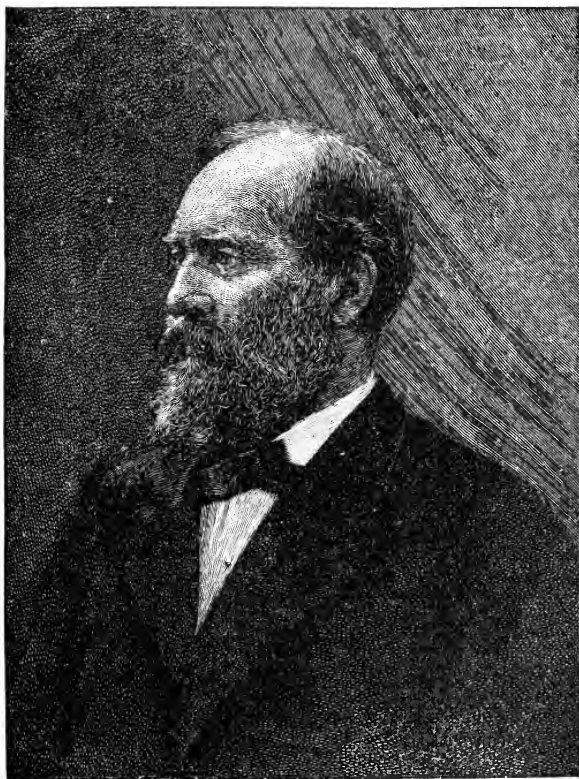
228. Resumption of Specie Payments.—On January 1, 1879, the United States government and the national banks resumed specie payment. The country again carried on business upon the same footing as other nations. It was rapidly diminishing the debt incurred in the war for the Union. At the close of the war the national debt was more

than twenty-eight hundred million dollars.² When specie pay-

¹ The nineteenth President of the United States was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was graduated at Kenyon College, studied law at Harvard University, and began the practice of law at Marietta, Ohio, in 1845. He removed to Cincinnati in 1850, and was prominent in his profession there, at the breaking out of the war. He became a volunteer, and rose to the rank of brigadier general. He was wounded four times, and showed great bravery. He was a member of Congress after the war, and three several times was governor of Ohio. After retiring from the Presidency, he returned to private life, but continued to serve his country in important benevolent movements, especially interesting himself in the civilization of the Indian. He died at his home, Fremont, Ohio, January 17, 1893.

² The public debt reached its maximum August 31, 1865, on which day it amounted to \$2,845,907,626.56.

ments were resumed, more than nine hundred million dollars of the debt had been paid; on November 1, 1900, the debt was still twenty-one hundred million dollars.



James Abram Garfield.

229. Assassination of Garfield. — President Hayes was succeeded by James Abram Garfield,¹ of Ohio, who had been a

¹ James Abram Garfield was born in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, November 19, 1831. He was the youngest of four children, and his father died when he was but two years old. He grew up in poverty, but under the care of an heroic

major general in the Union army, and a member of Congress since 1863. He had held the office but four months when he was shot by a man who had been disappointed at failing to obtain an office under the administration. The President was not instantly killed. For three months he lay helpless, while the nation watched anxiously every turn in his condition. The sympathy shown by all parts of the country did much to draw the nation together and to lessen the old distrust. Garfield died September 19, 1881, and was succeeded by the Vice President, Chester Alan Arthur,¹ of New York.

230. Events in Arthur's Administration.—Mr. Arthur was President until March 4, 1885. This administration is noted for three important political measures. In 1882, a bill was passed in Congress, known by the name of the senator who proposed it, the Edmunds Bill, which made polygamy in the territories illegal. In consequence, the Mormon church in Utah formally abolished polygamy, making the way clear for the admission of the territory into the Union as a State. In 1882, a bill was passed prohibiting Chinese laborers from

mother. He was eager for books and study, and also craved a life of adventure; but after some experience as a canal boy, he worked his way through preparatory schools, and spent two years at Williams College, where he was graduated in 1856. He took a position as instructor in Hiram College, Ohio, and also engaged in the study of law. He was deeply interested in politics, and in 1859 was elected to the Ohio Senate. He was given a commission as lieutenant colonel in the Ohio infantry, and saw much active service, being promoted rapidly, till he reached the rank of major general. In 1863 he entered Congress, and was nine times successively elected from his district. He made himself a leader in the House, and finally was chosen to the Senate, but before he could take his seat, he received the nomination for the Presidency.

¹The father of President Arthur was a Baptist clergyman who came to this country from the north of Ireland, when he was eighteen. Chester Alan Arthur was born at Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830. He was educated at Union College, and was admitted to the bar in 1853. He took active part in the formation of the Republican party, and during the war had charge of the preparation and equipment of the New York State troops. He was appointed to be collector of the port of New York in 1871, and in March, 1881, he took his seat as president of the Senate. He returned to private life after the expiration of his Presidential term, and died November 18, 1886.

coming into the United States. The settlement of the Pacific coast had drawn many men from China. These have helped to build railroads, to work the mines, and to do many kinds of household labor, but they have rarely become citizens.¹ In 1884, the United States sent a representative to a conference of the great powers at Berlin respecting Africa, thus for the first time taking part with Europe in the adjustment of world politics.

The postage on letters was reduced (1883) from three cents a half ounce to two cents; and still later (1885) the rate was made two cents an ounce. Many other improvements have since been made in the postal system, by which the government is able to serve the people better in their communication with one another.²



Chester Alan Arthur.

Death of General Grant. — On the 23d of July, 1885, Ulysses Simpson Grant died, the great general under whose leadership the war for the Union had been brought to a close. He had won the affection of his countrymen, and not only Northern

¹ The act of 1882 was limited by its terms to a period of ten years; but similar laws were passed in 1892 and again in 1902, besides some other measures to make the exclusion of Chinese labor more easy and certain. The act of 1902 forbade Chinese laborers to come to the United States from any of our island possessions, or to move from one of our island groups to another.

² One of the most important is the rural free delivery system, which has developed from a small beginning made in 1896.



Copyright, 1897, by J. S. Johnston.

The Tomb of Grant.

but Southern soldiers mourned his loss. At his grave the country again stood united.¹

231. Cleveland's First Administration. — In the election held in the autumn of 1884, the candidates of the Democratic party were chosen, and President Arthur was followed by Grover Cleveland, of New York. Within a year the Vice President, Thomas A. Hendricks, died; and Congress, made mindful of the need of providing for the adminis- ^{Nov. 25,} ^{1885.} tration of the government, passed, not long after, a Presidential succession bill. By this law, if the President dies, and there is no Vice President, the office of President is to be filled by a member of the President's Cabinet, — the Secretary of State, if that member is eligible to the presidency (Appendix p. 6); if not, then by the first who is eligible of the other Cabinet officers in a fixed order.

In February, 1887; Congress enacted a bill, known as the Dawes bill from the name of the senator who introduced it, by which the President was authorized, through special agents, to allot lands in Indian reservations to individual Indians, instead of allowing the land to be held in common by the tribes. Under this and later laws, many Indians have become citizens, and taken their place in the nation like other Americans.

In 1887 Congress passed what is known as the Interstate Commerce Act. It provided for the regulation of commerce between the several States, especially with reference to the railroads which connect the different parts of the country. The aim of this legislation was to check grave abuses in the

¹ After General Grant retired from the Presidency, he made a tour around the world, and was everywhere received with the honors due his illustrious career. He made his home, finally, in New York city, and took an interest in a banking firm in which his son was a partner. He lost heavily in the business, and devoted the last years of his life to the production of his memoirs, a book which not only had a great popularity, but justly occupies a high position as a piece of literature. After his death, a subscription was raised for the building of a stately tomb on the Riverside Drive, in New York; and the building was dedicated with great pomp, April 27, 1897, in the presence of the President of the United States and a great concourse of civil and military dignitaries.



Grover Cleveland.¹

¹ Grover Cleveland was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He was the son of a Presbyterian clergyman, and for a while taught in an institution for the blind. After his father's death, he studied law in Buffalo, was admitted to the bar in 1859, and in January, 1863, was appointed assistant district attorney for Erie County, an office which he held for three years. In 1870, he was elected sheriff of the county. He had attracted the attention of the people of Buffalo, and in 1881, he was elected mayor of the city. His strong executive ability became apparent, and in 1882 he was elected governor of New York by a very large majority. Again his conspicuous ability as an administrator of public affairs was made evident, and he became the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, at the election held in 1884.

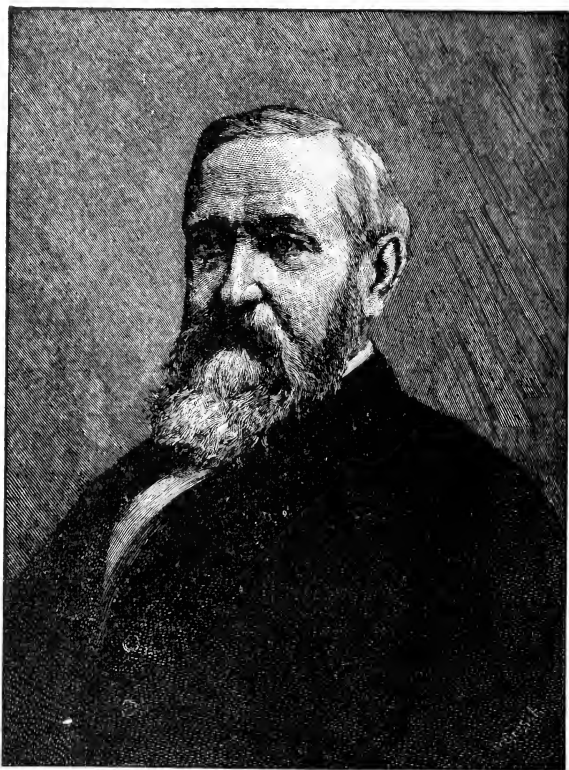
management of railroads — especially unequal and unfair treatment of different patrons. A commission was appointed under the new law to hear complaints and settle disputes as to fair charges and service.

Increase in the activities of the government is seen also in two other measures of this administration. In 1888 a Department (or Bureau) of Labor was established, for the purpose of acquiring and diffusing useful information concerning labor. The next year the Department (or Bureau) of Agriculture (first established in 1862) was reorganized as a full-fledged department, under the charge of a Secretary, who became a member of the President's Cabinet. This department, which looks after the interests of the great farming population, was thus given increased power and importance.

232. Harrison's Administration. — At the election held in the autumn of 1888, the main issue was the protective tariff. President Cleveland was renominated by the Democrats, on a platform upholding a tariff for revenue only; but the Republican party, which favored the protective tariff, was victorious. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was elected President, and Levi P. Morton, of New York, Vice President. The election was the first Presidential one conducted in any State under what has come to be known as the Australian ballot law,¹ designed to compel a secret vote, and to secure the most intelligent expression of the voter's choice.

Oklahoma was originally a portion of Indian Territory and was sold by the Seminole Indians to the United States upon condition that only colonies of Indians or freedmen should be allowed to settle there. Congress, however, paid a large sum to secure entire right to the land, and in 1889 opened the country to white settlers. On the day when the territory was opened to settlement, great multitudes had gathered on the

¹ The system was adopted in Australia as early as 1856, and was in use in Quebec and Nova Scotia in 1875. The first formal introduction of the system in the United States was in Michigan in 1887. Within ten years all the territories and nearly all the States adopted ballot-reform laws.



Benjamin Harrison.¹

¹ The new President was grandson of the former President Harrison, and was born at North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833. He was given the name of his grandfather's father, Benjamin Harrison, who was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was graduated at Miami University, in 1852, and began the practice of law in Indianapolis. He became the colonel of an Indiana regiment in 1862, and rose to the rank of brigadier general. After the war, he returned to his profession, and in 1880 was elected to the Senate from Indiana. The political parties in the State were pretty evenly balanced, and he was defeated for reelection in 1885. He was a candidate for reelection to the Presidency, but was defeated, and retired to private life in 1893. He took active part in public affairs until his death, March 13, 1901.

border ready to rush in and stake out claims under United States law, and so headlong was the rush that whereas, at noon, Guthrie was only a town site, at night-
April 22,
1889.
 fall it was occupied by ten thousand inhabitants and had taken steps toward forming a city government.

In the same year that Oklahoma was opened to settlement, four States were formed out of territories, — North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, and Montana. In 1890, Idaho and Wyoming were added to the Union, and Oklahoma was given a territorial government.

In accordance with the principles of the party in power, Congress, in 1890, passed a bill popularly called, from the name of its chief promoter, the McKinley Tariff bill, which undertook, in a very elaborate series of sections, to revise the existing laws respecting duties on imports.

The passage of the McKinley bill called out vigorous political discussion, and at the next congressional election, in the autumn of 1890, the Democratic party, which opposed the high protective tariff, gained control of the national House of Representatives. In 1892, the same party was still further successful. It secured a majority in Congress, and again placed Grover Cleveland in the President's chair, electing him by a clear majority over both the Republican candidate and the candidate of the People's Party, which carried several Western States.

233. Cleveland's Second Administration. — Though both branches of the government were now controlled by the Democrats, it proved difficult to enact a tariff bill to enforce the principles of this party. A compromise measure was finally adopted which reduced the tariff somewhat.

The Expositions in Chicago and Atlanta. — The four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was made the occasion for a great fair, the World's Columbian Exposition, which was held in 1893 in the city of Chicago, and was upon a larger scale than any world's fair ever before held. It was a sign of the great expansion of the country, and of the wide world

relations, that such a fair was held in a city far away from the Atlantic coast, and that some of the most important contributions to the exhibition came across the Pacific Ocean from Asia. Two years later, the Cotton States and International Exposition was opened at Atlanta, Georgia; it was especially successful in showing the great resources and industry of the South.

International Arbitration and Venezuela. — The great exhibitions did much to make clear the growth of the United States, but a nation does not stand by itself, apart from other nations: it has a place in the world; it has duties and rights in common with other nations; and as steam and electricity bring the continents nearer each other, the United States will have still more to do with Great Britain and its colonies, Germany and its colonies, Brazil, Japan, and China. Not only so, but the nation is sharing more and more with other nations in the decision of great questions of international politics.

For many years the South American state, Venezuela, had a boundary dispute with the adjacent British possessions. The United States government endeavored in vain to bring the dispute to an end, and in 1895 President Cleveland ap-
Dec. 17,
1895.
 pointed a commission to determine the boundary, in order that the United States might act if it should prove that Great Britain was claiming more than belonged to her by right. The incident was taken on both sides of the Atlantic as an indication that, under the Monroe Doctrine, the United States will prevent European powers from extending their territory in America under any pretext. After further debate, Great Britain and Venezuela made a treaty under which the boundary question was settled by a board of arbitration. The whole affair led to an earnest endeavor on the part of many Americans and Englishmen to establish the principle of arbitration in all international disputes.

Utah was admitted as a State in 1896, after adopting a constitution forever prohibiting polygamy.

234. The Election of McKinley. — In the general election of 1896, the principal question at issue was the financial policy



William McKinley.¹

¹ The new President's name has already appeared as the member of Congress who was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee which reported the tariff bill of 1890. He was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, January 29, 1843, and was still a student when the war for the Union occurred. He enlisted as a private soldier, was promoted through the several ranks till he was brevetted major for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek. After the war, he returned to Ohio, studied law, and began practice in Canton. He was elected to Congress in 1876, and served continuously until March, 1891, except for part of his fourth term, when he was unseated by his opponent. He was twice elected governor of Ohio. In 1900 he was re-elected president, but after a few months of service fell by the hand of an assassin, and died September 14, 1901.

of the country. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was the candidate of the Democratic and People's parties, which "demanded the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."¹ William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated by the Republican party, which maintained that the true policy was to use gold as the standard of value, in accordance with the practice of the other great nations; it was "opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved."² Mr. McKinley was elected.

235. Causes of the Spanish War. — The island of Cuba was settled by Spain in 1511. From the beginning Spain regarded the island as a source of revenue rather than as an integral part of the Spanish nation. By a system of taxation she sought to enrich herself at the expense of Cuba; and she sent a series of governors who, for the most part, made short stays, and returned wealthy.

¹ From the platform of the Democratic party. Under "free and unlimited" coinage, any one could take gold or silver to the mint and get for it an equal weight of coins; the "ratio of 16 to 1" signifies that one pound of gold makes 16 times as many dollars as one pound of silver does. The Democrats thus favored a double standard of money, such as had existed in this country before 1873. Before 1873, gold bullion had been worth sometimes a little more, and sometimes a little less, than 16 times the same weight of silver. In 1873 gold was the cheaper metal at this ratio, and therefore gold was the money in common use. By stopping the free coinage of silver, Congress then made gold the single standard of money. Later, for various reasons, the price of silver declined sharply. Efforts were made to restore the coinage of silver, but were only partly successful; under the acts of 1878 and 1890 the government bought each month large amounts of silver at the market price. In 1893 President Cleveland secured the repeal of this legislation. The silver was coined (both before and after 1893) into dollars which the government circulates at their face value, though the metal contained in them is worth much less. Our silver money is therefore intermediate in character between gold money and copper or paper money.

² From the platform of the Republican party.

The misery resulting from Spanish misgovernment led to a succession of revolts with breathing spells when Spain made some slight concessions.

In 1895 a fresh and determined effort was made by Cuban leaders, especially Maximo Gomez, to force Spain to grant independence. The Spanish governor, General Weyler, met the attempt by measures of the most severe character. He undertook to concentrate non-combatants into the cities and then laid waste the surrounding country. This infuriated the Cubans without greatly diminishing their military strength, and caused the starvation of thousands of innocent people.

The United States gave warning that her large interests in Cuba would make it impossible to suffer the disorders to continue. Spain then sent General Blanco as governor, with a new plan for the government of Cuba; but the insurgents refused to accept the offer of "autonomy," or self-government, under Spanish sovereignty.

October,
1897.

236. Outbreak of the Spanish War. — While people were wondering what was to be done next, early in 1898, the United States battleship *Maine*, while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was blown up, and many of her officers and men were killed. A great cry arose at once from the people of the United States, and multitudes were ready to believe that the explosion was caused by Spanish officers in Havana. A Court of Inquiry was appointed, which found "that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines, and that no evidence has been attainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons." Meanwhile, Congress appropriated fifty million dollars to be used at the discretion of the President for the defense of the United States in a possible war. Later, Congress passed a series of resolutions affirming that it was the right of the Cuban people to be free and independent, and the duty of the United States to demand of Spain that she relinquish her authority

Feb. 15,
1898.

April 18,
1898.

over Cuba and withdraw her land and naval forces. The President was directed to use the land and naval forces of the United States and to call out the militia to accomplish this purpose. Finally, it was stated "that the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island [of Cuba], except for the pacification thereof; and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people." War at once followed. The President called for 125,000 troops to serve two years, and a blockade of Cuban ports was ordered.

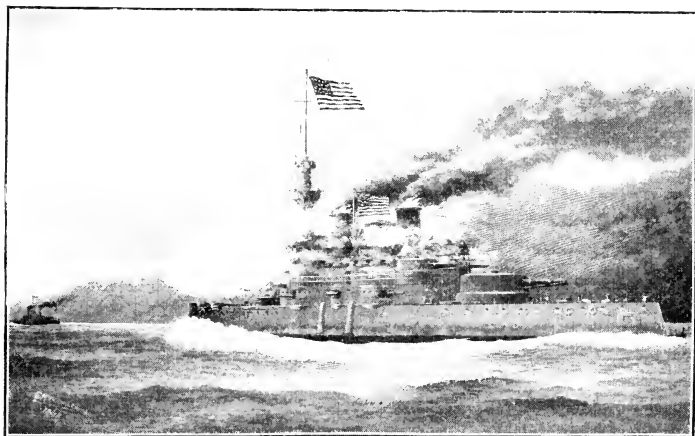
237. Events of the Spanish War. — The first great battle was fought not near Cuba, but in the eastern hemisphere. The Philippine Islands were also under the dominion of Spain, and also in a state of revolt. In consequence of this, there was a considerable Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila. Commodore Dewey, in command of the Pacific squadron of the American navy, attacked this fleet May 1, and in an engagement of two hours annihilated it (without the loss of a man or boat on his side), and thus had the city of Manila at his mercy. Our government at once took measures to send an army under General Merritt to occupy Manila.

The first point of attack in Cuba was the city of Santiago. The army under General Shafter invested the place, and the fleet under Admiral Sampson guarded the entrance to the harbor, within which was a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera. Not long after the army attacked Santiago, Cervera took his fleet out of the harbor and made a bold attempt to escape, but the American fleet attacked the Spanish, destroyed it, and took the admiral prisoner.

The Spanish army in Santiago surrendered to General Shafter, and by the terms of the surrender the United States government agreed to send the prisoners back to Spain. Meanwhile, General Miles, the commanding general of the army, landed with troops on the island of Porto Rico, and met

with little opposition. Before he could move on San Juan, word came that Spain had sued for peace.

238. Peace with Spain. — On August 12, representatives of Spain and the United States signed a protocol which was to form the basis of a treaty of peace. Spain pledged herself to renounce all claims to sovereignty in Cuba; to cede Porto Rico, and all her other possessions in the West Indies, to the United States; to cede an island in the Ladrone archipelago, to be chosen by the United States; and to yield to the United States possession of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which should determine the control and form of



End of the Battle of July 3, off Santiago.

government of the Philippine Islands. On the day after the signing of the protocol, but before this action was known in Manila, Admiral Dewey and General Merritt made a combined attack on that city and captured it.

Arrangements were quickly made for the removal of the Spanish troops in Porto Rico and in Cuba. Meanwhile the final treaty of peace was signed, so that the total duration of the war was less than eight months. Besides ceding Porto Rico and Guam (in the Ladrones)

Dec. 10,
1898.

to the United States, and giving up Cuba, according to the agreements of the protocol, the treaty provided that "Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands." The inhabitants of these islands were to be protected in their private property and the free exercise of their religion. The United States agreed to pay to Spain the sum of \$20,000,000, which was in a sense purchase money for the Philippines.

Meanwhile, there had developed in the United States a strong opposition to the annexation of the Philippines, on the ground that the region was a distant one, inhabited by a large population of alien race, language, and customs; and that the natives were unwilling to accept the sovereignty of the United States. It proved, however, impossible to make this a party question, and the treaty was duly ratified. Thus, after

Feb. 6,
1899. nearly four centuries of continuous occupation, the great eastern and western colonial possessions of Spain were swept away. Spain, which at the beginning of the English colonization claimed most of the continents of North and South America and all of the West India Islands, has now not a single square foot of dominion in the western hemisphere.

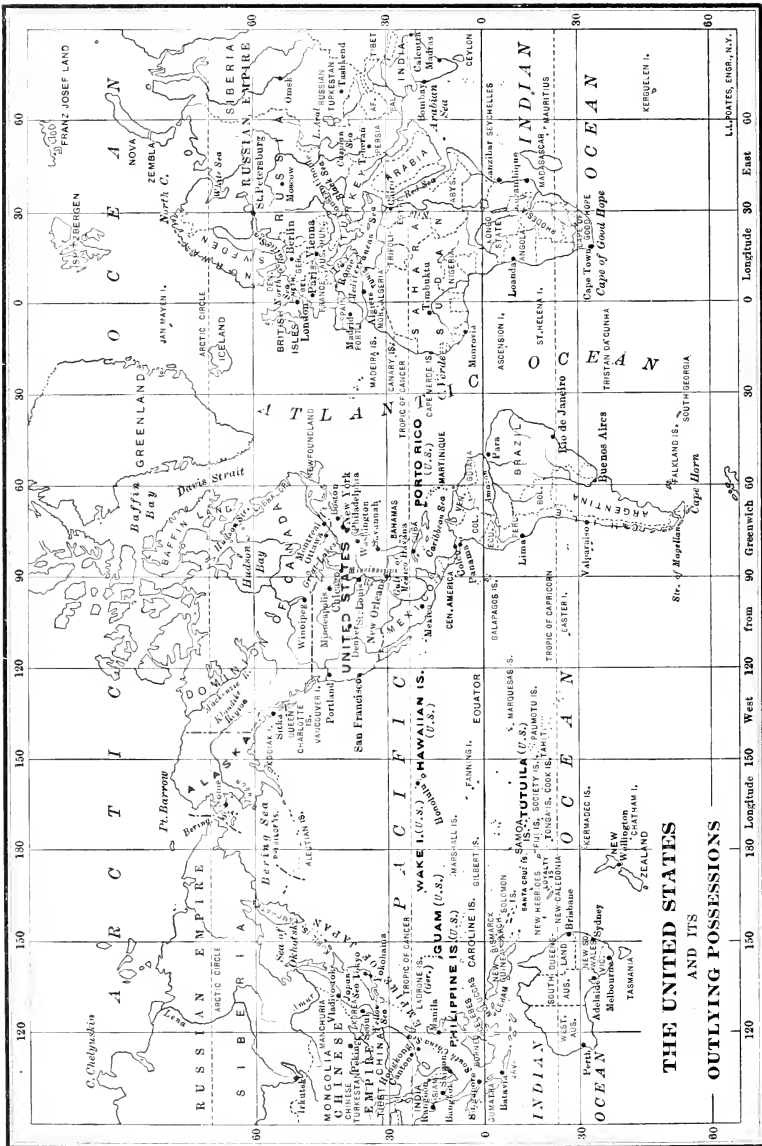
239. Hawaii, etc. — Three other additions to the territory of the United States were made in 1898–99. In July, 1897, a resolution was introduced for annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the

United States, but action was postponed until the
1898. Spanish War began, when the resolution was passed

by Congress; and it was accepted by the government of the Hawaiian republic. In 1900 Congress made Hawaii a territory of the United States, like the older territories on the mainland, with a regular governor and legislature. The Samoa Islands, in which the United States had for about ten years been sharing dominion with Great Britain and Germany,¹ were divided by a treaty of December 2, 1899, the United States

¹ The Samoa Islands were for a time the home of Robert Louis Stevenson. Read his book called "A Footnote to History: Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa" (published in 1892).





receiving the island of Tutuila, with the splendid harbor of Pago-pago. The uninhabited Wake Island, lying about half-way between Hawaii and the Philippines, was occupied in January, 1899.

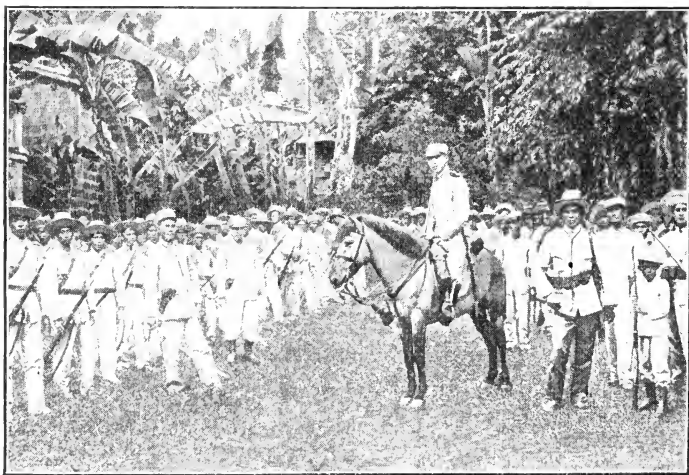
240. The Government of the New Dependencies; Porto Rico.—The question of how the United States should treat its new possessions was raised by a debate on a tariff clause in the bill providing a civil government for Porto Rico in 1900. The President recommended that Congress should give the same privileges of unrestricted trade between the continent and Porto Rico as between the various States of the Union. Instead, a clause was introduced, by which the Porto Ricans were to have the United States tariff as against foreign nations, and a tariff was also to be levied on exports from Porto Rico to the United States. In the end a compromise was adopted by which a low rate of duties was levied only for a short time on products moving both ways; the proceeds to be turned over to the island for immediate needs. The act of 1900 established in Porto Rico a plan of government somewhat like that of territories in the United States; but the Porto Ricans were not made United States citizens, and the 1900. ordinary laws of Congress were not applied to them. As the courts held this act of Congress to be constitutional, there was thus definitely established a kind of government new in our history: the government of a dependency or colony, a land belonging to the United States, but not part of it.

The Philippines.—The treaty with Spain did not give the United States actual possession of the Philippines, for a strong and warlike party had arisen there which was determined that the Filipinos should be independent. Aguinaldo, the popular leader, had been engaged in a movement against the Spaniards, and at the beginning of our war with Spain was in Hongkong. He was brought back to the islands on an American ship of war, organized his countrymen against the Spaniards in Manila, and besieged the city by land, while it was invested on the sea side by the American fleet. In December, 1898,

President McKinley directed that the power of the United States should be extended over the territory, and that the natives who resisted should be compelled to obey. He appointed a commission, at the head of which was President J. G. Schurman of Cornell University, to assist in organizing

Feb. 4,
1899.

a government; but Aguinaldo's army meanwhile attacked the American forces before Manila, and the struggle continued for more than two years. Within a few months, the Americans occupied the principal towns throughout the islands, and made a friendly treaty with the Sultan of the Sulu Islands, the southern group of the Philip-



Filipino Insurgents.

ppines. In the course of a year the Filipino army in the field was dispersed, but numerous and troublesome guerilla bands

Mar. 23,
1901.

continued a harassing warfare for months afterward.

In the spring of 1901, by the capture of Aguinaldo,¹

¹ Aguinaldo was captured by a small body of troops under Brigadier-General Frederick Funston of Kansas, after a skillful and daring march into the heart of the enemies' country.

the opposition of the Filipinos to a government by the United States was confined to a small group.

The Schurman commission made an investigation and an elaborate report, which much influenced public opinion by its decided statement that the Filipinos were not capable of keeping up a stable government for themselves. In February, 1900, President McKinley appointed a new governmental commission, headed by Judge Taft, of Ohio, with authority to constitute both general and local governments in the islands. This commission made rapid progress, and to its statesmanship, as well as to the skill and bravery of our army, was due the final overthrow of the opposition to the authority of the United States.

In 1902, when peace had been restored in the Philippines, Congress adopted a plan of civil government for the Christian portion of the archipelago, making this part of the Philippines, like Porto Rico, a partly self-governing colony.

241. Cuba. — The relations of the United States with Cuba in 1898–1902 were very unusual; for while it was the purpose of our country to allow the Cubans to form a government of their own, it was necessary to take steps to pacify and improve the island while the Cubans were getting ready. Most of the United States troops were rapidly withdrawn, but a military governor, General Wood, was appointed, who was the highest authority in the island. The United States provided for improving the health conditions of the cities, for founding the first general system of public schools, for reorganizing the post office, and like purposes: for all these purposes taxes were levied and collected on the island. In 1901 a Cuban constitutional convention drew up a form of republican government for the island. Congress prescribed certain conditions, which the Cubans accepted, to govern the future relations of Cuba and the United States, and to guard against foreign interference or Cuban misrule. Then, the new Cuban officers having been elected, Governor Wood handed the island over to its own government on May 20, 1902.

Thus within three years after the sudden breaking out of the Spanish War, the United States became possessed of the islands of Porto Rico, Wake, Guam, the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and a part of the Samoa Islands. It has thus ceased to be wholly a North American power; it has even extended beyond the neighboring West Indies, and by the possession of the Philippines it has become a great power in the Pacific, and more interested than ever before in the future of China and of eastern Asia.

242. Political and Commercial Events.— Although the attention of the country, during McKinley's administration, was much occupied by the war, by the negotiation of the treaty of peace, and by the adjustment of territorial government for the various dependencies of the United States, yet the period was full of interesting discussions of other public questions. In 1897 the Republicans succeeded in passing a new tariff law, which made the average rate of duties somewhat higher. To help meet the expenses of the war, Congress levied an inheritance tax, and stamp taxes on checks, deeds, and many other documents.

The steady growth of the great combinations of capital, usually called trusts, surprised and at the same time alarmed the people. The owners of the two greatest American railroad systems, the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroad, came to an understanding, by which they were to be carried on with a common purpose; and most of the parallel lines, such as the Baltimore and Ohio, the Chesapeake and Ohio, and the Erie Railroad, came also under the same influence; so that all the main lines from the seaboard to Chicago were under the same control, although not under a single ownership. The immense carrying trade of the Great Lakes has also passed into the hands of a combination which does the great part of the business. The owners of the iron mines of the Lake Superior region and elsewhere, of the furnaces for making pig iron, and of steel works and mills for rolling rails and steel for buildings, combined into several large trusts;

and in 1901 these were united into one enormous corporation, having a stated capital of more than eleven hundred million dollars.¹

Presidential Election. — In 1900 an election was duly held for the presidency of the United States. The Democratic and People's parties a second time nominated William J. Bryan upon platforms declaring for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The Republicans renominated Mr. McKinley for President, and nominated Theodore Roosevelt, governor of New York, for Vice-President. In the campaign the issue of free silver was very soon dropped and the main discussion came on the question of expansion and of the government of the dependencies. In the election Mr. McKinley received 292 electoral votes, and Mr. Bryan 155.

243. Assassination of McKinley. — Shortly after his second inauguration, the President made a journey to the Pacific coast accompanied by some members of his Cabinet. The journey was attended by many signs of popular interest, and in September he went also to Buffalo to visit the Pan-American Exposition, which was held in that city during the summer. On the 5th of September he made a speech there, and the next day he stood on the platform of the Temple of Music, and greeted the people as they came forward to shake his hand.

A young man who seemed to have his right hand bandaged was one of these, but as his turn came he suddenly fired two shots in quick succession at the President. Mr. McKinley's first thought was for his invalid wife, his second for the assassin, who had been seized instantly and was in peril of being put to death by the infuriated people. The President received the skillful care of eminent surgeons, and for a few days there were hopes of his recovery. But on Saturday, Sep-

¹ One of the results of this combination was a payment in one block of nearly \$200,000,000 to Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who owned some of the most important properties taken over by the new trust; and he at once began to distribute his great income in the foundation of public libraries and other instruments for doing good.

tember 14, 1901, he died, taking leave of his friends, and murmuring, "It is God's way; His will be done, not ours."

Vice-President Roosevelt at once took the oath of office as President of the United States, and the government went forward without a shock. The assassin was tried for murder under the laws of New York, condemned to death, and executed.

244. Isthmian Canal.—The project of constructing a ship canal across the narrow central part of America began to attract the attention of engineers and of statesmen many years ago. A French company was organized for this purpose by De Lesseps, who had pushed the Suez Canal to completion. This company began work on a sea-level canal across the lowest part of the Isthmus of Panama; but after spending many millions it failed through reckless management before the work was half done. Our government had a survey made of this route and also of the Nicaragua route farther west, by engineers who reported that both routes were feasible. The owners of the French canal then offered to sell their rights and property for \$40,000,000; and in 1902 Congress passed a law authorizing the President to make the purchase and complete the canal, or instead to construct the Nicaragua Canal in case satisfactory title and control of the Panama route could not be secured.

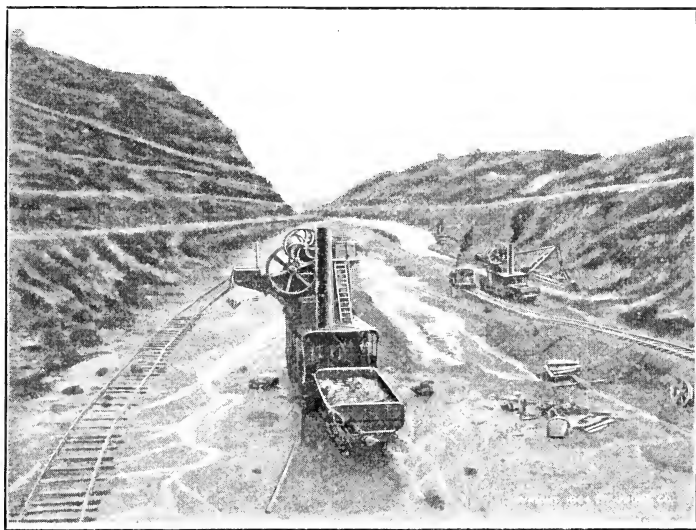
The next year, accordingly, a treaty was negotiated with Colombia, the country which then included the Isthmus of Panama, for selling the control of this route to the United States. But the Colombian Congress rejected the treaty,

Nov. 3.
1903.

whereupon the province of Panama seceded and was promptly recognized as an independent republic by the United States and other countries. A treaty was soon made with Panama, whereby our country gained control of the Panama route, with a zone ten miles wide from ocean to ocean, in consideration of large money payments and a guarantee of Panama's independence.

The French owners were paid their \$40,000,000, and our

government began work on the canal. There were many difficulties to be overcome — unhealthful conditions in the Canal Zone, scarcity of labor, and other obstacles, besides serious engineering problems. Differences soon arose as to the advisability of making a sea-level canal (a vast ditch cut down below the level of the sea) or a lock canal (with parts of the canal at different levels, connected by locks). Congress, in 1906, finally decided in favor of a lock canal, as promising completion in less time. A proposal to employ Chinese labor on the canal aroused opposition among laboring men in the United States; as did also a law of 1906 excepting alien labor on the



Work on the Panama Canal.

canal from the rule limiting the hours of labor on government work to eight hours a day. Toward the end of 1906 it was decided to have the work done by contract.

245. Political Events. — Congress, in 1902, set aside the receipts from sales of public land in the western half of the



Theodore Roosevelt.¹

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, sprung from a family active in New York for eight generations, was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1880. From 1882 to 1884 he served in the New York Assembly, and in 1889 he was appointed a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. In 1895 he became president of the board of police commissioners of New York City, but he resigned that office in 1897 to accept that of Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Upon the breaking out of the war with Spain, he resigned to accept a commission as lieutenant colonel in the First Cavalry, U. S., which took part in the attack on Santiago de Cuba. In 1899 he was elected governor of New York, and in 1900 Vice-President of the United States. In addition to his political and military activity, he has been a writer of biographical and historical works, and of narratives of hunting.

country to form a "reclamation fund"; and the Secretary of the Interior was charged with the duty of expending this fund in the planning and construction of irrigation works in the arid and semi-arid portions of the West. Many thousands of acres are being thus reclaimed and made valuable for farming. The next year a ninth member was added to the President's Cabinet—the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The 1903. new department of Commerce and Labor was made up partly of bureaus already in existence—including the Bureau of Labor established fifteen years before (p. 381); and partly of new bureaus. One of the latter is the Bureau of Corporations, charged with the duty of investigating the operations of all corporations, except railroads, engaged in interstate commerce.

The Election of 1904 turned principally on the official record of President Roosevelt, the Republican candidate, who was chosen President for the ensuing term by 336 electoral votes to 140 for the Democratic candidate, Judge Parker of New York. Other parties which cast many popular votes, but did not carry any state, were the Socialist, Prohibition, and People's parties.

Events since 1904.—In spite of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 (p. 379) and some later laws, favored shippers were still given various unfair advantages in the service and charges of railroads. Similar abuses were charged against other common carriers. In 1906 Con-
June,
1906.

. ¹ Another law affecting the petroleum industry was an act removing the internal revenue tax from alcohol to be used in the arts, or for fuel, light, or power. The tax on alcohol had previously been so high as to prevent its extensive use in competition with kerosene, gasoline, or other petroleum products. Following the example of some other countries, the United States now removed the tax, on condition that the alcohol be mixed with certain other substances that spoil it for use in any medicine or drink.

freight and passenger rates in place of any it deemed to be unjust and unreasonable.

Besides this law to regulate interstate transportation, Congress passed several acts to regulate the quality of goods entering into interstate commerce. Efficient inspection of meat-packing establishments was provided, at a cost of more than \$3,000,000 a year. Adulteration or misbranding of any foods, drugs, medicines, or liquors manufactured anywhere for sale in another state, was forbidden under heavy penalties.

New State. — Provision was made for the admission, in 1907, of the state of Oklahoma, consisting of both the territory of Oklahoma and also what was left of the old Indian Territory. So populous was this new state — the forty-sixth in the Union — that it was given five representatives in the lower house of Congress, though other new states had usually been entitled to only one or two representatives.

246. Cuban Intervention. — In the summer of 1905 there was a presidential election in Cuba, which resulted in favor of the Moderate party, then already in power. The Liberal party protested that their opponents had used force and fraud to carry the election; and within a year large numbers of them began an insurrection. The Cuban government failed to suppress the disorder, and in September the Cuban President asked the United States for help. Our government first tried by diplomatic means to bring the warring parties to a peaceful agreement; but in vain. Both sides offered to surrender to the United States, but would make no agreement with each other. On the resignation of the Cuban President, our envoy, Secretary Taft, took charge of the island and instituted a provisional government, in accordance with our right to intervene when necessary to preserve order in Cuba (p. 393). He announced that the intervention was friendly, and would end after the election and installation of new officers under the Cuban constitution. United States troops were stationed at various points in the island, and the insurgents were peacefully disarmed. In October, Charles E. Magoon was appointed

by President Roosevelt to replace Taft as provisional governor of Cuba, and to carry on the work of restoring order and confidence, and giving the Cuban republic a new start.

QUESTIONS.

How was the centennial year celebrated? What great electrical invention was made known in 1876? Narrate the incidents of the Sioux War. What gave occasion for the Electoral Commission? When were specie payments resumed? Give an account of President Garfield. Mention some of the important events in President Arthur's administration. What is the order of succession to the presidency? What steps have been taken to make citizens of the Indians? What was the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887? What department was added to the administration in 1889? Who succeeded President Cleveland? Describe the opening of Oklahoma. What new States were added in 1889? in 1890? What was the McKinley bill? Describe the two great expositions; the Venezuela question. What State entered the Union in 1896? Who was the next President? What were the defects of Spanish government in Cuba? What was the *Maine* incident? What did Congress promise in beginning war? How did we come to take the Philippine Islands? What were the principal points in the treaty of peace with Spain? What was the relation of the United States to Cuba before the peace? How did war begin with the Filipinos? What was the Schurman Commission? What was the Taft Commission? What are the present island possessions of the United States? What was the Porto Rican tariff? How did the great railroads come under one management? How did the manufacture of iron and steel come under one management? Who were the candidates for the Presidency in 1900? What were the issues of the campaign? What was the date of President McKinley's death? Who then became President? What has been the history of the Panama Canal? What is the Western "reclamation fund"? What department of government was established in 1903? What important laws were passed in 1906? What has been the history of Cuba since 1898? What is the forty-sixth State, and when was it admitted?

SEARCH QUESTIONS.

What is the extent of the public lands belonging to the nation? Name some of the great reservations. Name some great electrical inventions. What troubles had the United States with Spain prior to 1898? What territory had been added to the United States by Congress prior to

1898? What is a trust? What has cheapened the cost of steel? How many Vice-Presidents have become Presidents without being elected to that office? What commercial measure did President McKinley advocate in his speech at Buffalo? When and at what cost will the Panama Canal be completed? What were some of the adulterations stopped by the Pure Food Act of 1906?

SUGGESTIONS FOR LITERARY TREATMENT.

COMPOSITION :

A day at the Chicago Exposition.

On a ship of war.

A visit to a blast furnace.

A visit to a steel mill.

The character of Aguinaldo.

A visit to Cuba.

DEBATES :

Resolved, That Tilden was elected President.

Resolved, That the Filipinos ought to have the same kind of government as the people of New Mexico.

Resolved, That trusts ought to be prohibited by law.

Resolved, That Cuba ought to be annexed to the United States.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES—1787¹

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2 No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.² The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4 When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

¹ This reprint of the Constitution exactly follows the text of that in the Department of State at Washington, save in the spelling of a few words.

² The last half of this sentence was superseded by the 13th and 14th Amendments. (See p. 12 following.)

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide

2 Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

SECTION 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1 The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post offices and post roads;

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations ;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,¹ and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.²

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another : nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the

¹ The District of Columbia, which comes under these regulations, had not then been erected.

² A temporary clause, no longer in force. See also Article V, p. 8 following.

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receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10.¹ 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice.

¹ See also the 10th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, pp. 11, 12 following.

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In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.¹

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1 The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on

¹ This paragraph superseded by the 12th Amendment, p. 11 following.

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extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;¹—between citizens of different States,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And

¹ See the 11th Amendment, p. 11 following.

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the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹

SECTION 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof ; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

¹ See the 13th Amendment, p. 12 following.

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3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution ; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go : WASHINGTON —

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm. Saml. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil : Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona : Dayton

Pennsylvania

B. Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt. Morris
Geo. Clymer
Thos. Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo : Read
Gunning Bedford Jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco : Broom .

Maryland

James Mellenry
Dan of St. Thos Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

Virginia

John Blair —
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler.

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

Attest

WILLIAM JACKSON Secretary.

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Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I¹

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger ; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

¹ The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

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ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI¹

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII²

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

¹ Adopted in 1798.

² Adopted in 1804.

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ARTICLE XIII¹

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV²

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV³

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Adopted in 1865.

² Adopted in 1868.

³ Adopted in 1870.

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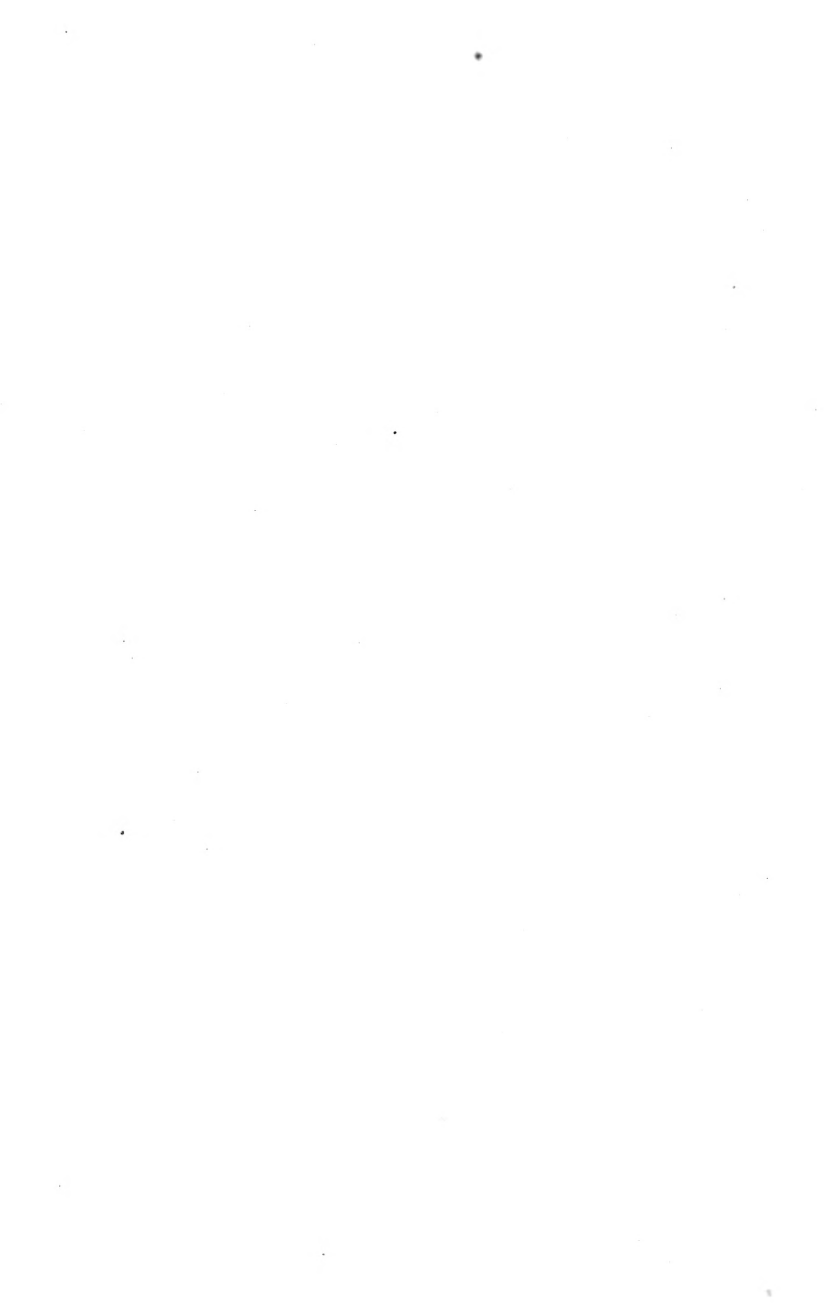
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